1: Lhote E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

/frontispiece/

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565 631 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exercise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

177 631 565 571 The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace. Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of foresight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off. In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

●291 565 178 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north," Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh," were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

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1. *Les races de l'Afrique*, p. 129.

Plate IX

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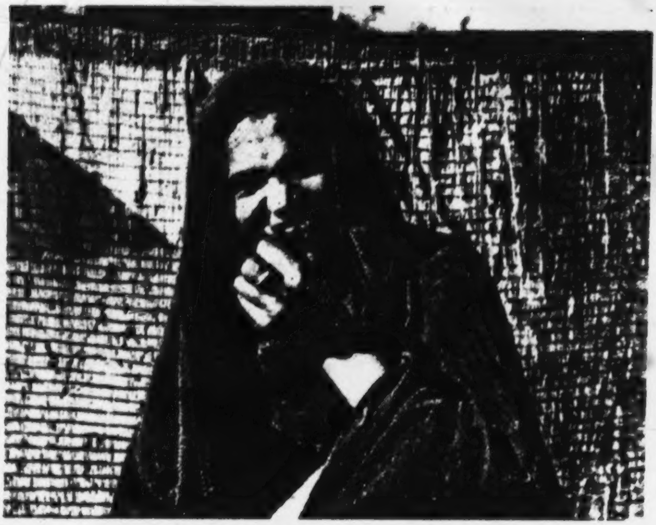

Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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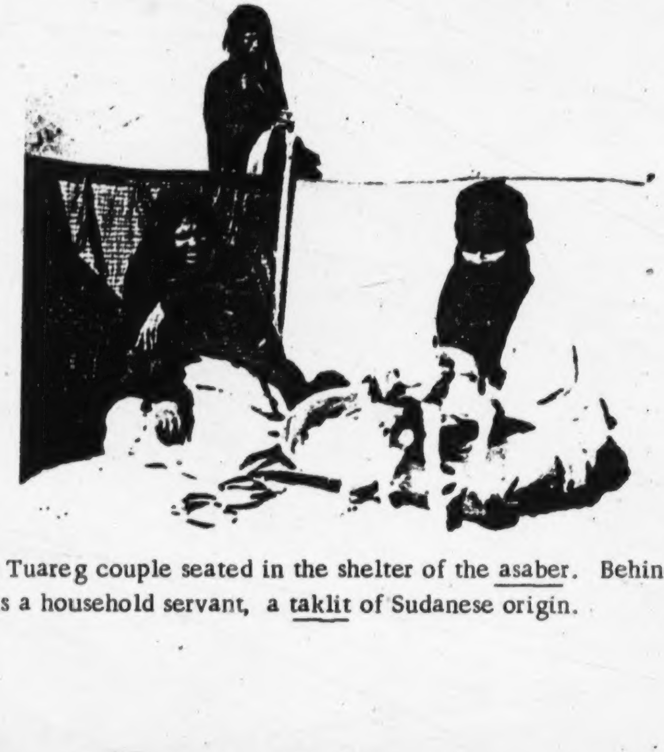

Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

Plate X

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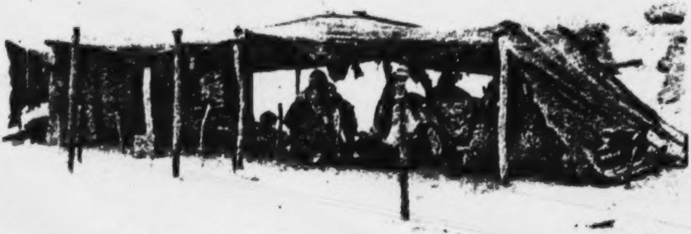

Tent belonging to the amenokal of the Kel Ahaggar. It has eight poles inside, and the awning is made of 60 skins sewn together. The separate poles in the foreground are used to hold up the asaber in the evening.

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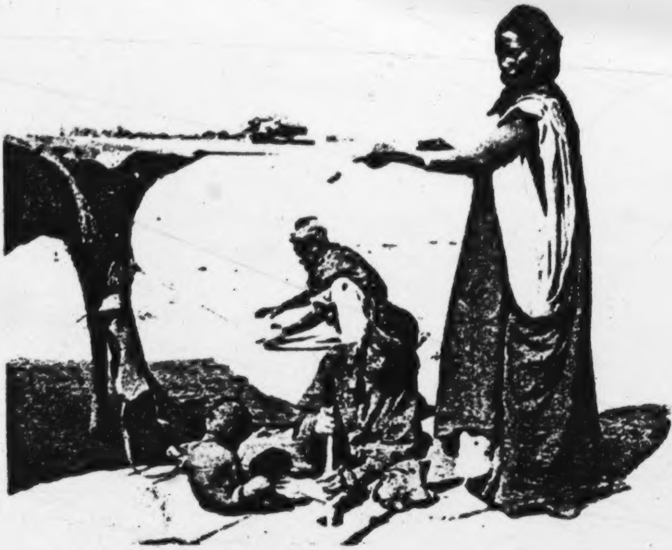

The tent is always set up by the women, mainly by servants. They make holes in the ground to put the pole in, then pile sand around it. When the pole is in place, the skin is attached by a thong.

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Plate XI

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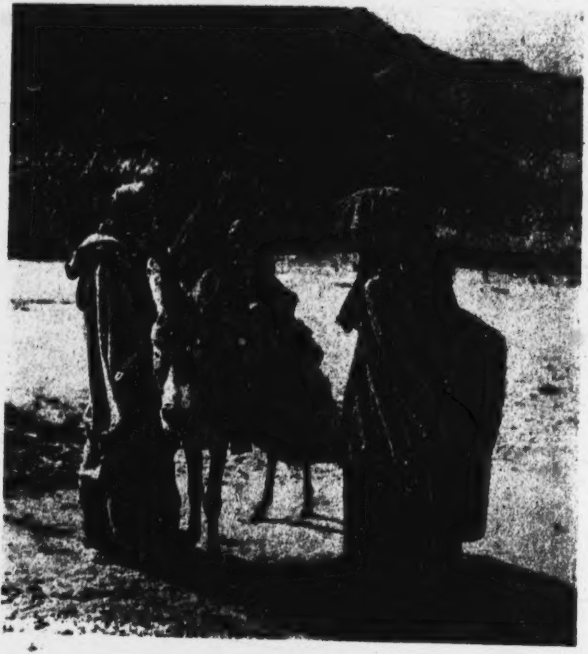
The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.



Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

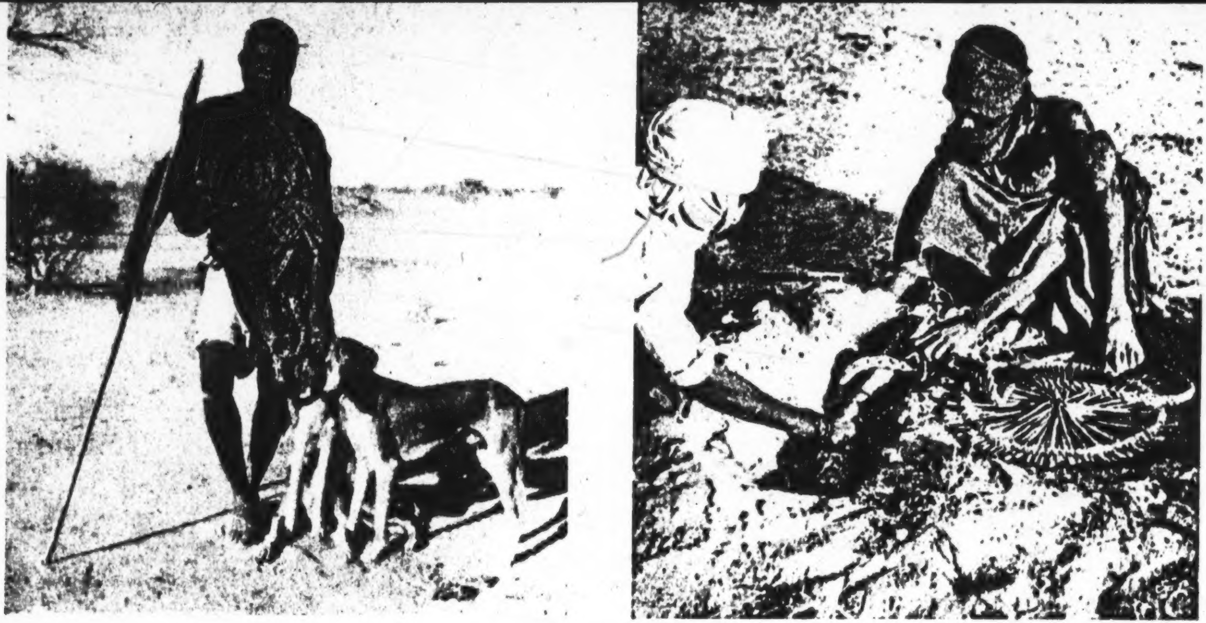


Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed./ are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

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Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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season which generally ends with the month of September. 439
When the caravaneers arrive earlier, they wait in the Tămasna 484
region and protect their salt by hiding it in the crags of the rocks.

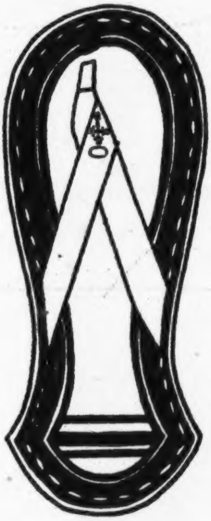

Fig. 24. Irratimen sandal of Hausa make, such as the Ihǎggaren wear.

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At any rate they always stay at least two months in that region so that their camels may regain their strength. Then, they go in small groups toward the Damergou where they know people in some villages with whom they exchange their salt for millet. These exchanges are made on variable bases, depending on whether or not the millet harvest has been abundant, or whether the salt has arrived in greater or lesser quantity. Most generally they are made on the basis of one load of salt for three loads of millet, but sometimes in the proportion of one load of salt for ten loads of millet, which is much to the advantage of the Ihǎggaren.

435

Since they do not have enough camels to carry all this grain back, and since they do not need that much grain in the Ahaggar, they sell or exchange a good part of it for manufactured objects, which are easy to transport and /220/ easy to dispose of -- sandals, saddle bags, camel saddles, leather boxes,

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
[182 do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea
in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed
plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ *chih* (*Artemisia herba alba*) in par-
[757 ticular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach
178] aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics,
we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or
take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply
in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved
to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay
pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when
smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl
which covers the face." (1)

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1. *Voyage en Afrique*,
vol. IV, p. 137.

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless
and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed
[826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily
ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

For them the main question is protecting the different parts of
751 the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the
body is to that end.

They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily
291 dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue
302 color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become
prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They
rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired
color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their
[171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is
also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth.
They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal
[412] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed
[824] to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora
persica) or palm jereed.

/258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring
302 for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft
of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little
halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed
[593] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer
276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region.
[184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids
may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a
[884] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413 bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237] one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278] enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855] the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/

Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known.
Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with
his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a
haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
[492] when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the
saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

●291 and is worn loose or, more often, drawn in at the waist by a belt; 3) a veil covering the face, letting only the top of the head and the eyes show.

This is the simplest dress of the Tuareg.

292 The holiday garb includes several blouses placed one on top of the other -- a white blouse underneath, an indigo-blue blouse on [556] top of that, and finally, for rich people, a third blouse made of bands of cotton, worked in the Sudan. This last blouse, usually with a

[291]

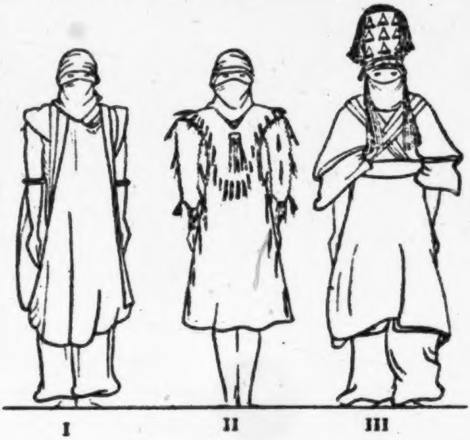

Fig. 38. Ahaggar men's costume.

1) Amrid with his gandurah pulled up over his shoulders.
2) Akli wearing a leather gandurah.
3) Amajer in ceremonial costume with a takoumbout on his head.

[531] purplish background color and large and small embroidery over the chest and the shoulders, includes a wide, deep pocket on the left side of the chest. Broad bands of white and red material gird the loins by forming a belt and cross over the chest to form a shoulder belt. Large silk cords with red or green tassels finish off the costume which gives the Tuareg such an impressive air.

291 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands,
489 are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called
chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it
[556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of
Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling
[435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and
can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In
[177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been
adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as ex-
[436] change currency for commercial transactions.

It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil
291 their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the
174 need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

174 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that
291 there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for
826 a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part
of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take
off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more
comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

291 Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate its meaning.

184 The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts
291 on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are
local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in recent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This, moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil
291 according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it
more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the disorderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

156 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled
● 291 down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it
is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity.
To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his
veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten
it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family
292 festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white
muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of
frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them
to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered,
and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it
was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big
chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and
covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to
disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in
the whole Ahaggar today.

-291 The Ihǎggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide
sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over
the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of
scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel
and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and es-
556] pecially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying
area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which
[177 is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was
439] borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be
attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden,
[184 which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer,
556] since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They
are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money
to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very
comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

184 291 Although men's costume does not vary at all, or very little, this is not the case for women's clothing. That worn by Ahaggar women is peculiar to that region, while Aïr or Ioullimmiden women dress in their own way.

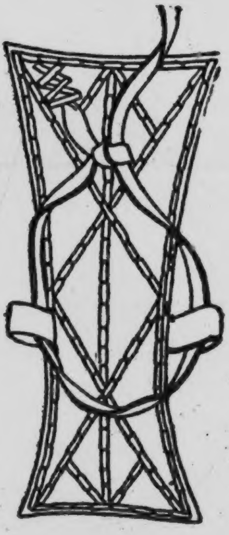

Fig. 39. An imerkéden, sandal made of skins sewed together and worn by Ahaggar mountaineers.

291 Tuareg women do not wear trousers but have a white cloth skirt wound around the loins. Ahaggar women wear over it a large white cloth blouse, similar in shape to that of the men, but closed on the sides. Well-to-do women wear a second blouse on top, made of indigo-dyed cloth. 556

184 291 In Aïr the blouse is replaced by a little bolero, and in Ioullimmiden tribes women usually go bare chested or content themselves with a rectangular piece of material which they casually throw over their shoulders.

291 They do not veil their faces like the men. A little mantilla made of one or two toukourdi is worn wrapped around the head and

face to hide their features in front of strangers. During their moves, 291
Ahaggar women use a big, broad-brimmed straw hat -- the télé -- to [484]
protect themselves from the sun.

/269/ They wear irratimen on their feet like the men, but more often they go barefoot. In the Sudan, during the rainy season, they replace the leather irratimen by very light wooden irratimen, which fulfill the same function there as wooden shoes do for us.

[184]

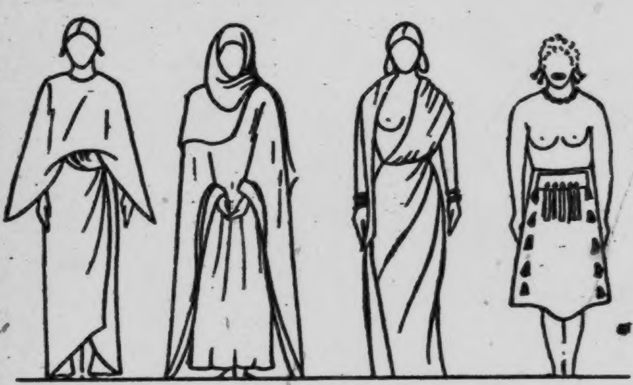

Fig. 40. Costume of Tuareg women.

1) Costume of Aïr Tuareg women, which includes a skirt and a little bolero.
2) Ahaggar Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a big gandurah reaching to the feet.
3) Sudanese Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a shawl around the shoulders.
4) Leather skirts for servant girls, in use in Ioullimmiden tribes.

In the Ahaggar and the Tassili, men and women wear a large white wool haik to wrap up the head and shoulders. During the cold period of winter they wrap up in a long woolen blanket (dokkali) made by the [439] Arabs in Touat. The latter exchange them with the Ihǎggaren for sheep.

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is
832 a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial
[181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking 322
vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for
making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six
species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply
shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, re- 281
move hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are 462
able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to
make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal
objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is

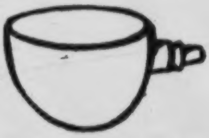

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Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a
developed leather craft.

[137]
The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of
the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the 285
stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) [824]
are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the
tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the [283]
combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective;- it [531]
allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a
very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women 291
use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the 415
Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 438

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

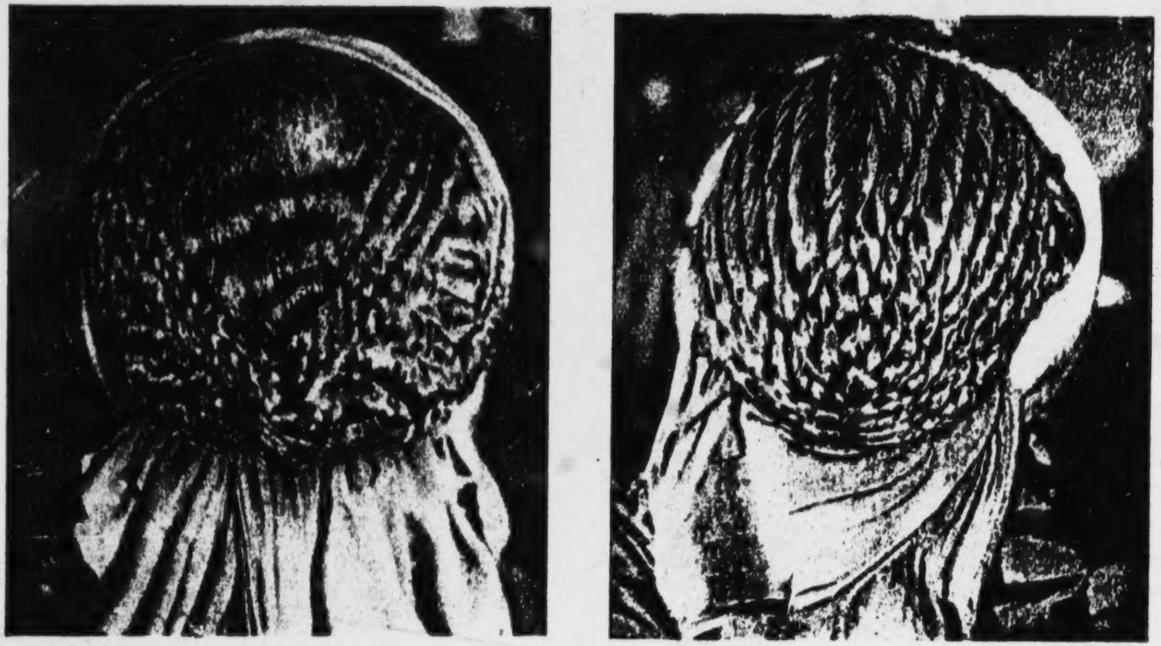
861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[462] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
291 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
[431] vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

Plate XIV



Typical men's hair styles. The hair is braided and taken around to the back. The veil encircles the forehead, leaving the top of the head uncovered.

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Plate XV

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Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.

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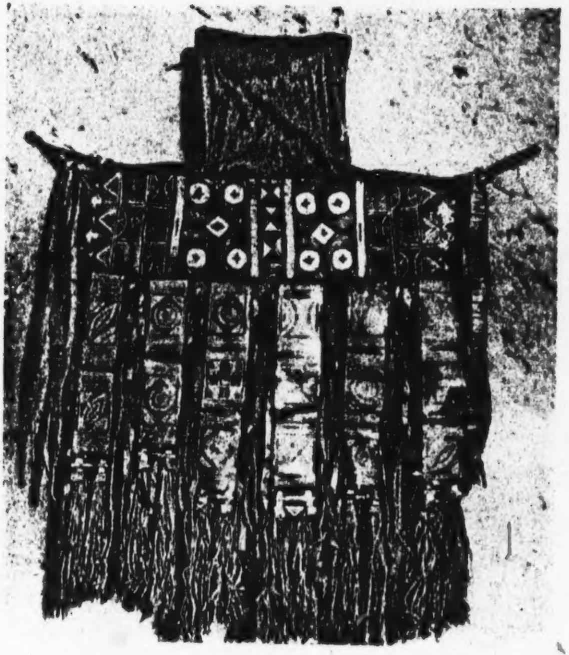

Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

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A Targui noble of the Ahaggar, beside his tent. (Photograph by L. C. Briggs.)

[Frontispiece]

361 less and there is no immediate fear of a sudden downpour that might produce flash floods.
592 Each tent is occupied by a single family unit and there are almost never more than 5 or 6
361 tents at the most in any normal camp. In the camp of the Amenokal there are usually 15
644 to 20 tents or even more, and one sees no flocks nearby, but this is a wholly artificial situation made possible only by the fact that the Amenokal and his personal retinue receive most of their supplies by truck from the nearest French Army post, and so can live in a way that would be impossible in the Ahaggar under anything approaching normal conditions.

Clothing, Cosmetics and Cleanliness. In the old
● 291 days the Tuareg used to wear leather shirts that reached below the knee and were sometimes elaborately decorated with fringe. Monod (1947, p. 47) recalls that Herodotus (IV, 189) described Libyan women as wearing fringed garments of red leather some 2,500 years ago, and he adds that some Tuareg women of the Niger Bend country still do so. Lyon (1821, p. 110 and plates facing pp. 110 and 113) tells us that leather shirts were worn by many of the Tuareg who visited Mourzouk while he was there in 1819, but Duveyrier (1864, p. 406) found that they were already becoming scarce only 40 years later. The present writer has seen no leather clothing worn by anyone in the Ahaggar, although Benhazera (1908, p. 37) says that poor folk wore leather clothes there 50 years ago while Reygasse (1950, p. 97) states that leather shirts are still worn by some of the slaves and Capot-Rey (1953, p. 226) adds that they are often worn by smiths.

Another once characteristic article of Tuareg dress that has now gone largely out of use was the high, conical fezlike cap, made of soft red felt and worn sticking up through the middle of the turban, that Lyon (1821) saw at Mourzouk. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 424, footnote) says that caps of this kind were "obnoxious to the" Tuareg "tribes of pure blood" in 1850 but this is probably either an error or a matter of local eccentricity, for they were still standard equipment in Duveyrier's time. They disappeared almost completely from the Ahaggar, however, in the course of the next 50 years or less although

● [291] some Moroccan Arab tribes wear them even now. This type of headdress seems to have been exactly or almost exactly like the tall, fezlike tasseled cap that we see worn, though without a turban, by Chusor Phtah in portraits that occur on coins struck probably during the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. at the provincial Berber capital of Lixus, the modern Tchemmich, an old Phoenician settlement on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, roughly half way between Rabat and Tangier (Mazard, 1955, pp. 60, 64, 125 and 153; figs. 630–35, 640–42). Chusor Phtah has been identified as the diety who was supposed by the Phoenicians to have brought order out of primeval chaos. And so we are left wondering if the high-crowned floppy fez of the Tuareg was originally a northwestern African Berber invention or a Phoenician import from the Near East. [177] In any case it suggests the possibility of a very early relationship of some sort between the Tuareg and the northwestern coastal fringe of Barbary.

Tuareg men today wear very loose, baggy trousers made of dark indigo blue or black cotton cloth,[10] which are held in place in the same way as our pajama trousers are but with a braided leather cord by way of drawstring. The seat is baggy and hangs down below the knees, the ends of the legs are sewed up so as to fit closely around the ankles, and there are no pockets and no fly. A loose, white cotton shirt, rather like a nightgown with very wide sleeves of medium length, used to be the standard undergarment, but the gandoura [177] of the Arabs finally replaced it and is now being replaced in turn by the European type of shirt. The Tuareg gandoura is made of a huge rectangle of cloth, roughly 7 to 8 feet wide by 8 to 9 feet long. This is folded over on itself and the free corners are sewn together so as to leave the bottom and most of both sides open, a V-shaped opening for the head and neck is cut out of the fold at the top, and a large patch is sewed on inside so as to make a roomy pocket placed just below the left breast. The gandoura worn next to the skin, or directly over the undershirt, is usually made of white cotton, and a second

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[10] Frequent reference to the plates will make the following descriptions easier to understand.

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 94A] Hoggar

● 291 one, of dark indigo blue cotton cloth this time, is customarily worn over it. On gala occasions some of the Tuareg wear a third gandoura, made of very narrow vertical strips of Sudanese cotton cloth dyed a lurid pinkish violet or of alternate strips of violet and white or dark blue, often with two large spiral patterns embroidered in coarse white thread, one over the left breast and the other on the back between the shoulders. This third type of gandoura has gone almost completely out of use within the last few years, but, like the white tie and tails of our own formal dress, it is still worn occasionally and is considered very elegant. A Tuareg gandoura should be wide enough so that when the upper corners hang down freely they cover the hands, but they are usually rolled up over the forearms so as to leave the hands free and sometimes are folded over the shoulders, thus freeing the whole arm.

A woolen outer garment is occasionally worn in cold weather. Lightweight blankets from the Gourara and the Touat used to be worn like giant shawls, but these have been replaced to a great extent by the "burnous" (Arabic = *bernoos*) of the Arabs, a long hooded cloak made of wool or of camel's hair mixed with wool.

The Tuareg have two types of footgear. The older type, a sandal with the end folded back over the toes, is held in place by a narrow strip of leather which passes around the heel below the level of the ankle, and is attached to the sole directly between the great and second toes and indirectly by a loop on either side of the foot halfway between the instep and the heel. The second type, [439] usually imported from the Sudan, is a large flat sandal which extends out about an inch beyond the foot in all directions. It is held in place by a V-shaped pair of broad strips of leather with the arms of the V attached directly to the sole on either side of the foot and the point attached to a thin roll of leather which passes between the great and second toes. The older type is rarely seen today, but still survives in some of the more mountainous regions.

And so we come at last to the mysterious "teguelmoust," the men's veil that has done so much to make the Tuareg so famous. The teguelmoust is actually a combination veil and turban made of a band of lightweight cotton cloth some 10 feet long by a foot or so wide, preferably dark indigo blue in color but often white or black nowadays. This band is wound around and around the head and face so as to leave exposed only the eyes and a small patch on the crown of the head. The lower edge of the eye opening is often doubled over in the middle so as to draw the cloth tighter across the bridge of the nose, thus preventing the veil from slipping down. The slit left open for the eyes is made as narrow as possible on formal occasions, and is then strikingly reminiscent of the snow goggles of the Eskimos.

Self-respecting Tuareg still think it shockingly indecent for a man to let his mouth be seen by anyone to whom he owes the least formal respect, so much so in fact that Lhote (1955, p. 307) was able to write of Tuareg women married for over 20 years who claimed never to have seen the mouths of their own husbands. When a man is eating or drinking, the left hand is slid up underneath the fold of cloth that covers the face so as to hold it out away from the mouth without raising it above chin level, and the spoon, bowl or glass containing food or drink is then passed up under the veil with the right hand in such a way that the mouth and even the chin remain concealed during the entire process. A Targui about to enter a camp other than his own must stop first and arrange his veil so that the eye slit is very narrow, for to do otherwise would place him in a position similar to that of a stranger ostentatiously whistling at the girls in a small American town. It may be taken as a general rule that a Targui will never show his face to anyone whose social standing he considers superior to his own.

But when, where and from whom did the Tuareg get the curious idea that men must all wear veils while women go without? All that Lyon, Barth, Duveyrier, Benhazera, Reygasse, Rodd, Bovill, Lhote, Blanguernon and your humble servant, among others, have been able to elicit from the Tuareg themselves over a period of a century and a quarter of patient effort is that self-respecting men wear veils and always have, simply because it is the proper thing to do. Duveyrier (1864, p. 391), followed more recently by Rodd (1926, p.

●291 288) and Lhote (1955, p. 305), held that the teguelmoust cannot have had a utilitarian origin because it is worn by men whose womenfolk habitually go unveiled in spite of the fact that both sexes are exposed to the same rigorous environment. Benhazera (1908, p. 39) agreed with this theory, and cited as evidence the fact that Tuareg men questioned by him all denied flatly that the veil was intended to serve any useful purpose. Other equally serious investigators have gone to extremes of both fantasy and caution. Barth 1857a, vol. 1, p. 424), for example, suggested that the veil, turban and floppy fez "combine to imitate the shape of the helmet" of a mediæval knight, although the supposed resemblance is about as farfetched as any that one can think of, while Blanguernon (1955, p. 99), after noting that the veil is in fact very useful whatever its chief purpose may now be, prudently declined to speculate as to its origin on the very reasonable grounds that there is no factual evidence at all to go on. It has been suggested too that Tuareg men hide their mouths only because they think it shameful to expose either end of the alimentary canal, just as we think it shameful to expose the lower extremity thereof (Foley, 1930, p. 25, among others); but if this is so, then why are women's mouths not considered just as shameful as those of men?

The arguments advanced in favor of the theory that the teguelmoust cannot have had a utilitarian origin fail to convince the present writer, for several reasons. In the first place we must remember that the men of all Saharan nomad tribes often veil their faces with a fold of the turban when out in the sun and wind or in a sandstorm, although being veiled or not seems to have no ceremonial implications for any of them except the Tuareg. Everyone who has traveled at all extensively in hot deserts knows that it is often advantageous to the point of being almost essential when on the trail to cover the head, nose and mouth with light, loosely woven cloth, for such a covering protects the wearer from the sun and wind and also maintains a pocket of relatively moist air, kept humid by the breath, around the mouth and nostrils. This last function is of great practical importance in that it protects the mucous membranes of the respiratory

● 291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 512 462 It is not true that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh [11] to the children. [567] Every family that is not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 171 Although it is true that Tuareg women do not wear veils, it is also true that women of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial quality with which its use has become imbued.

291 177 As for the date at which the teguelmoust

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[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

291 177 was introduced among or developed by the Tuareg, we have as yet only negative evidence to go on and precious little of that. All we can say with any assurance is that it cannot very well be older than the introduction of cotton cloth, which is self-evident, and that it could easily have been derived from some quite ordinary type of turban, like that of the Arab Chaamba for example. Cotton cloth must have been introduced into the Sahara on a commercial scale very soon after the introduction of camel domestication had led to the establishment of a regular caravan trade with Egypt, if not before. There are indications
291 175 that it may have been known in the Ahaggar as early as the 5th century A.D. (Reygasse, 1950, p. 98) and perhaps even in late Neolithic times, and yet there is no evidence in the literature that the Tuareg were wearing veils before the 10th or early 11th century. As Rodd (1926, p. 328) has said: "It seems very strange that none of the classical and post-classical authors should have recorded a feature which so distinguishes this people from other races. There is no reference to the Veil until we come to the first Arab authors. . . ." Desert raiders remarkably like the Tuareg are known to have been in increasingly frequent and violent contact with Romans, Vandals and finally with Byzantines from probably as early as the dawn of the Christian era until the first wave of Arab invaders arrived some 600 years later, and after that they were in contact with the Arabs for another 350 years or so before we begin to hear talk of veiled men in the Sahara.

El Bekri (Lhote, 1955, p. 128) describing the city of Tademekka (in the Adrar n Ifoghas country) as it was early in the 11th century, wrote of the inhabitants that ". . . they veil their faces as do all Berbers of the desert . . . ," while Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338), writing 300 years later, said: " . . . we came to the country of the Haggar, who are a tribe of Berbers; they wear face veils and are a rascally lot." But these statements too are very strange, for the matter-of-fact language in which they are couched seems to suggest that even El Bekri may have taken it for granted that his readers were already familiar with veiled men of Saharan Berber tribes, presumably the northern Tuareg.

291 Tuareg. It is all very puzzling and mysterious indeed.

Tuareg women wear either a short cotton skirt that reaches just below the knees or a pair of baggy trousers, like those of the men but shorter. Like the men they usually wear a white gandoura with a blue one over it, but the under one at least is sewed farther up the sides leaving open arm slits only 1½ to 2 feet long. The costume is topped off with a shawl and a head scarf of indigo blue cotton cloth, the first measuring roughly 9 feet by 6 and the second about 4 by 2 feet as a rule. Lightweight woolen shawls, measuring as much as 10 feet by 6½ and white or darkish pink in color, used to be worn on festive occasions but have practically disappeared in recent years. Lhote (1955, p. 107) says that Tuareg women sometimes wrap goatskins around their shoulders in wintertime. Straw hats with very high conical crowns and enormously wide, floppy brims, made of narrow interwoven strips of palm fronds, were always worn in summertime by women of rank, especially when on a journey, but these too have almost completely disappeared. We have already seen that Tuareg women never wear a veil, which is just as well since many of them are extremely good-looking, but they often drape a fold of the head shawl loosely across the nose and mouth when sitting out in the open or riding on the trail, simply as a matter of physical protection. Young unmarried Tuareg women and girls are inclined to be overcome with giggles when strange foreigners arrive in the camp, and then they hide their faces with a corner of the shawl or whatever piece of clothing is most handy, just as little girls do everywhere in the world.

Tuareg women sometimes plaster their fore-
302 heads and cheeks with mudpacks of red or
yellow ocher, and smear their mouths with
indigo and the region of the eyes with black
pigment made of powdered antimony or char-
coal mixed with grease. This lurid make-up
[751] gives fairly good protection against sun and
wind, and the Tuareg consider it very beauti-
ful as well although to our eyes it makes the
wearer look absolutely frightful. Men also
use black pigment around the eye openings,
291 especially on gala occasions.

439 The reader will have noticed that the

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which
[439] they get from the Sudan. This material is
commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced
shegga), and the most archaic and highly
prized variety is made of a multitude of long
strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together.
The cloth itself, of very ordinary
quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude
indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand
new piece looks black when seen at a distance
or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is
a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen
like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo
dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest
touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does
but much more so.

Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made
302 of such material is soon stained with indigo
from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it
into their skins on purpose. Women often smear
it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and
around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects
human skin from the direct effects of sun and
wind but also lubricates it and so prevents
cracking, and they are quite right, at least up
to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only
[515] very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated
protective coating of indigo, the
humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value
of prestige that has risen in proportion to the
rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty
looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg
just as much as a rich golden tan is admired
in midwinter by the business men and women
of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert
proper one can go unwashed for long periods
without either feeling or looking noticeably
dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually
evaporates instantly upon reaching the
surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for
anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in
that they are very lean and wiry, and so they
sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is
extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible
body odor at all, regardless of whether
he looks clean or not. White foreigners
are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

326 ward and then westward, across the North
African hinterland to the shores of the Atlan-
[171] tic. The general description of this pattern,
given above in chapter V under the sub-head-
ing *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in
the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves
little more to add.

Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
326 family units or small groups widely separated
463 from each other (fig. 50). A few families fol-
low Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds,
but the great majority remain sedentary most
of the time in one agricultural center or an-
other, and go out only now and then for a
few weeks or months, to do a general repair
and re-equipment job in the camps of some
nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood
[759] and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while
the women specialize in fancy leatherwork
and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of
the smith community act as both go-betweens
and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also
engage in intertribal secret intelligence work.
And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes
have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and
confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust
[291] but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to
have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a
general rule, although a few have more than
one wife and some of them marry Haratin or
occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their
lowly social status, but probably in fact more
because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

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[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 235] Hoggar
[Pp. 230-234 not processed]

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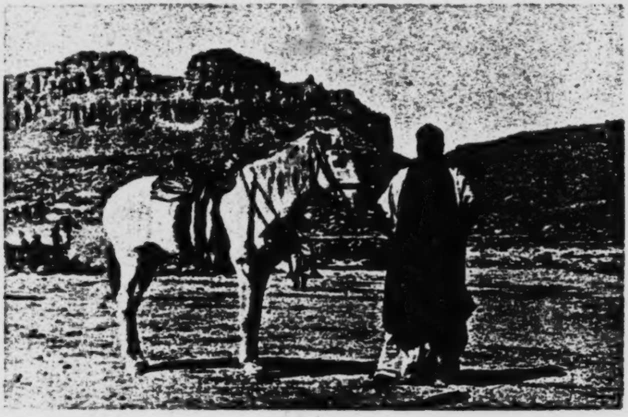

Fig. 20. a, Bey ag Akhamouk, heir apparent (and now paramount chief) of the Ahaggar Tuareg, with one of the last horses of the central Sahara.

[P. 239]

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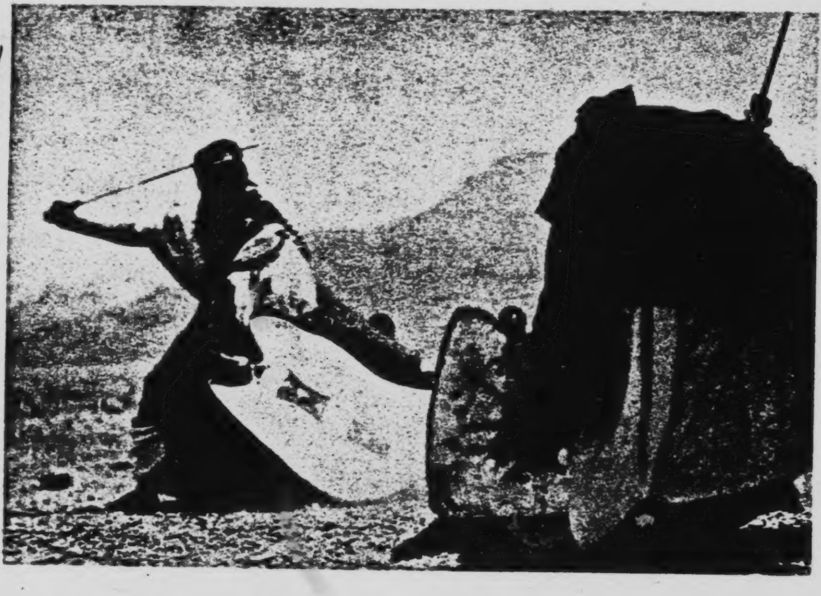

Fig. 24. Tuareg warriors of the Ahaggar in single combat. (Photograph by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

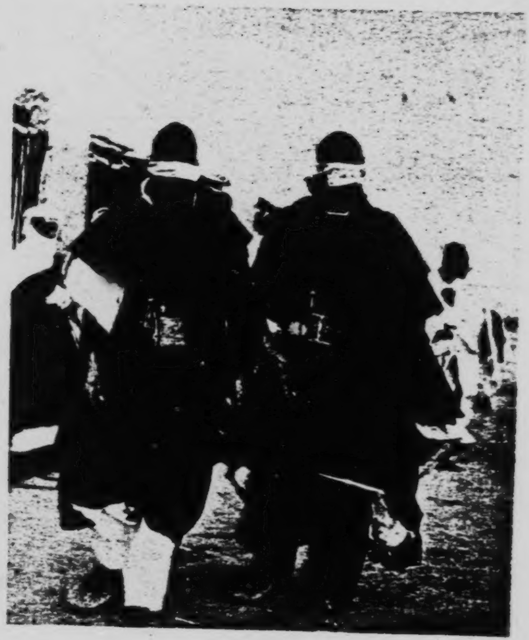

Fig. 25. Young Tuareg nobles of the Ahaggar, come into town for a spree. (Photograph by I. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme.*)

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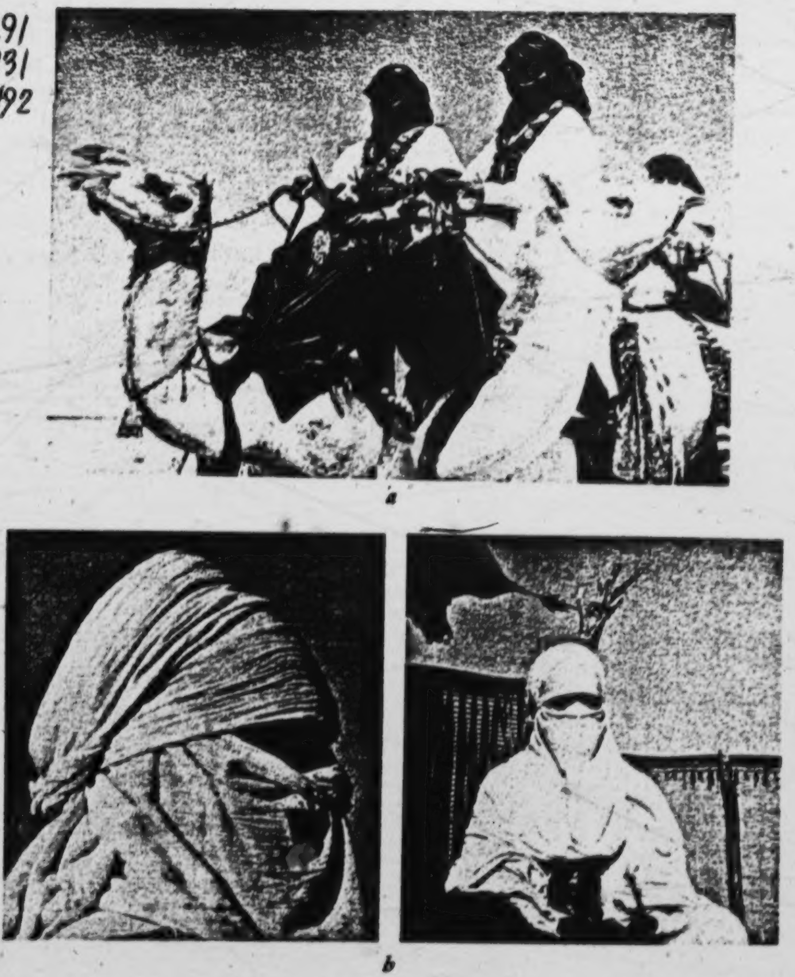

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Fig. 26. Tuareg of the Ahaggar. *a*, Camel Corps soldiers. *b*, A young noble of the Kel Rela Tribe. (Photographs: *a*, by A. J. Weber; *b*, by L. C. Briggs.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 242]

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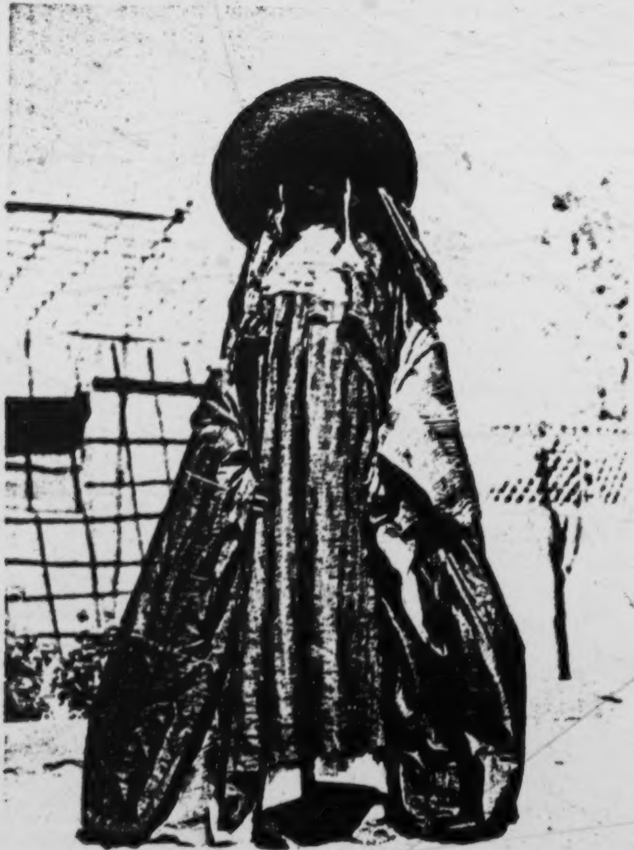

Fig. 27. A noble woman of the Ahaggar Tuareg (Kel Rela Tribe). (Photograph by A. J. Weber.)

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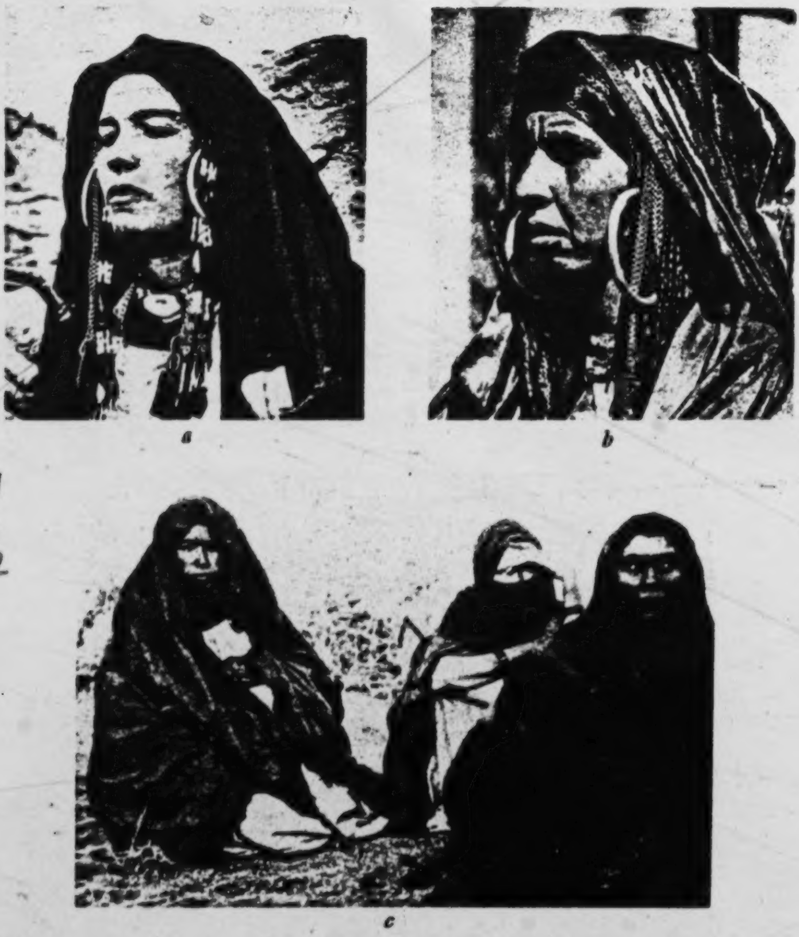


a b c

Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © *Time*, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

by

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

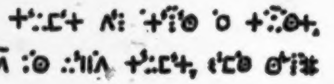
977 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 174
years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests
they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy
wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail [714]
and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the [411]
Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, 194
the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike 212
Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the 174
task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has
been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It
is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book
of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

 [539]

The Bible in Tamahaq

(Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17)

"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. 771
From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and
lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means [101]
"abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg
domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du
Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar
with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists;
in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most
other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into
a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage
and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of [833]
the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers,
praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and
universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from 567
the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal 611
groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will
not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance,
claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social
circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen 565
through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are 567
free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free.
These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from
"Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and [291]
the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by
birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go
unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, 177
consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities. 533

Chapter II

Circumcision

In Tamashek, "azemhoud-n-baradhen" (circumcision of children)ⵏⴹⵔⴱⵏⴷⵂⵎⵣfrom the verb "ezmahad"ⴷⵂⵎⵣ , to circumcise. 304 852

There is no set age for circumcision; generally it is carried out after the age of five.

The operator is summoned to the amazar' (douar), and all the people present take part in the operation, carried out as follows:

The operator holds the foreskin with a bit of "saâf" (djerid or palm leaf) and cuts it with a well-sharpened knife. To [278] cicatrize the wound, it is dusted with leaves of atle (Tamarix articulata) and skins of dried pomegranates ground to powder. Then it is washed with camel urine, and all painful contact is [237] avoided by means of splints held by strings fastened behind the back.

Then there is a feast: a sheep's throat is cut, and it is eaten by the guests.

Chapter III

Puberty

In Tamashek, "tamendjott"ⵟⵊⵏⵎⵜ . As soon as he is of 882 an age to fast, that is to say, as soon as he has reached puberty, 291 the boy begins to wear the "tidjelmoust"ⵟⵎⵍⵊⵜ veil which he will never leave off thereafter.

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⴷⵎⵏⵀ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" Σ⁝O∴ , which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad Vⵣⵎ , an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" :Σⵣ , as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjelhé" .⁝Σ'|'+ , made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

Chapter IV

Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ||⁝ , plural "ihallen" /||⁝.
/7/

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

[291]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

Chapter VI

Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" |⁝OV◫ , is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

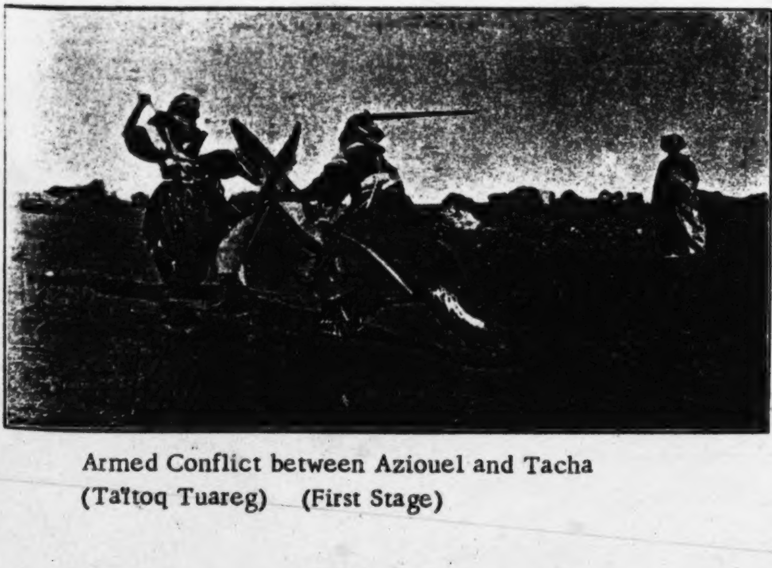
Chapter X

Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera" ·ⵔⴾⵔⴾⵜ, 526
which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera," 857
they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be made to go into the opposing camp.

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little 524
sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call 532
"isounar" ⵔⵏⵙ . Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, 857
a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari with a man on it, "aknar" ⵔⵏⴾ , or a woman in her bassour, "taknart" ⊕ⵏⴾⵜ ; here are a bride and groom. These young sculptors, it seems, are very skillful.

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula" ·ⵍⵓⵍⵓⵜ , on a 524
tree. 857



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Armed Conflict between Aziouel and Tacha (Taïtoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

291
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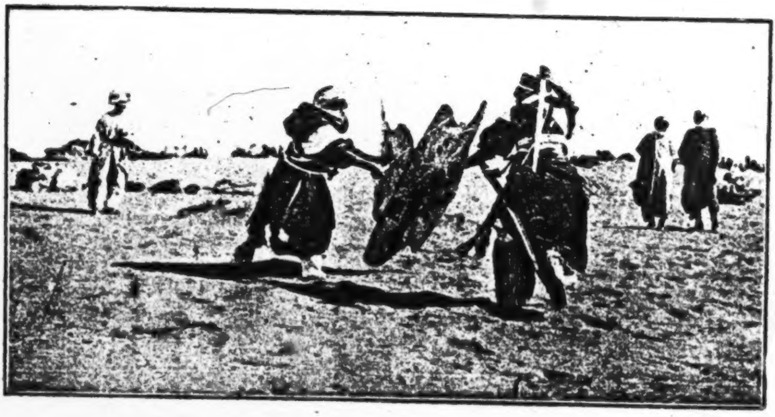
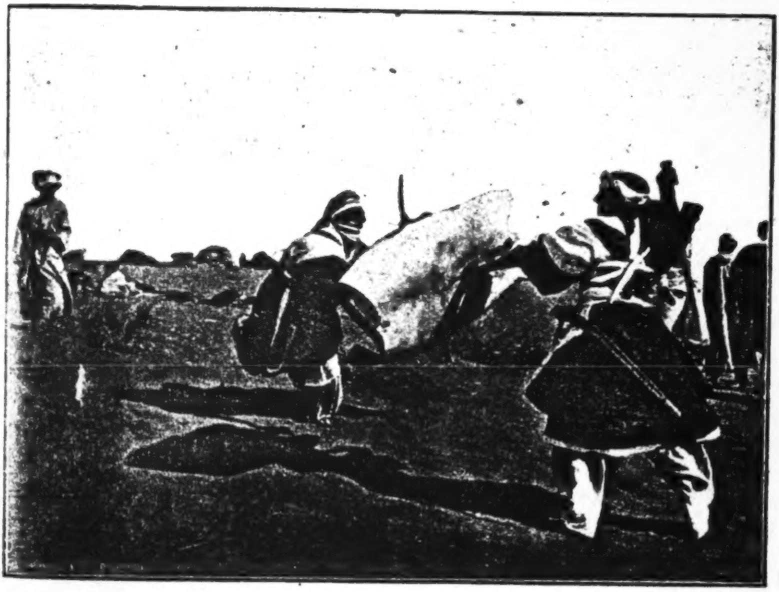
526



(Second Stage)

(Third Stage)

4: Benhazera--17b G-5(1905)   1908   MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



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(Fourth Stage)

291
411
526

(Fifth Stage)

As to the men, they practice throwing the spear as far as possible toward a certain object. They have mock battles with the "takouba" (saber) and shield, "ar'er"; or /22/ they roll up rags and try to cut them with a single stroke of their great "takouba." 411
526

4: Benhazera--27G-5(1905)   1908   MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well received. 574

Chapter XVI

Hygiene. Diseases

133
516

Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the prescribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water at their disposal. They are content with "taïmoum" (an imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine." The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg whom I have seen making his ablutions with water. 515 [151] [782 788]

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" [illegible], on their skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 291 302 386 515 claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga." 291 302 386 515

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" O]C ⊡ plural "isefran" |O]C ⊡, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing. ,177 278 [432 556]

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg. [648 757]

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" •••X+, gonorrhea, "talaoaït;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" Ǝ]⊡+; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef"]C⁚|⁏]⁖+. 164

Chapter XVII

Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have. 563 567 [721]

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense. [439]

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished. 178 567

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are primarily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after water and take care of the children. 563 567 [233] [357]

[231 291 312]

Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

Chapter XVIII

Clothing. The Veil

The Tuareg are very clothes conscious. They love beautiful clothes and do not fail to put the best they have in their wardrobes on their backs every time the occasion arises. 291

The more garments they can put on, one over the other, the better it is. Even in midsummer if a Tuareg has a wool burnoose, he does not hesitate to put it over his shoulders if he is to attend a palaver or present himself to a chief, though he suffer from it.

Their clothes are almost all made of dark-blue cotton, "tchoqqit" ⵜ...ⵛⵜ (a word which seems to be a [192] variation of the word "chegga" used by the Arabs).

White cotton is not fashionable and is not worn except by those who do not have the means to buy dark-blue cotton, which [556] looks black and, from a distance when they are in a group, gives them a slight resemblance to crows.

Their costume consists of:

The "takarbast" ⴲⴱⵔⵗⵜ, a sleeveless gandurah slit at the sides and sewed only at the bottom, so that when they raise onto their shoulders the panels that fall to their wrists, the entire bare chest is seen through the opening.

The "karteba" •ⴱⵜⵔ⁚, trousers _à la hussarde_, or full like the Arab "seroual, " tight at the ankle.

The "takammist" ⵜⵙⵎⵗⵜ, a gandurah with large wide sleeves and a large pocket on the left side of the chest, "el hib" ⴱ⁝ⵍ. The "takammist, " which is usually made of cotton with small blue /36/ and white squares or with dark-blue and mauve stripes, is decorated on the shoulders with white embroidery. This garment is expensive and is only worn [556] by well-to-do Tuareg.

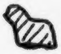
An "abrour'" ⁚ⵔⴱ, a haïk of wool bought in the Tidikelt or the Touat, and worn only in winter.

The "tidjelmoust" ⊕⊐‖'I'+ , or veil. The veil is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place. 291 ●

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf." [302]

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ΛΛ⊡ , and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" Σ||+ , can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists of a kind of diadem of this shape: 177 291



It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat"+|ⅢV+, is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance. [184]

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, "tirezzemine" |⊐#O+ . 291

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with cabalistic matter, or amulets. 291 789

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath. I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all gathered together, on his chest. 789

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, "ir'atimen" ⵏⵎⵜⵗ , or with leather sandals made on the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵏ V ⵈ ⵔ ⵎ . 291 [439]

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" ⵊ ⵀ ⁝ , plural "ihebdjan" ⵏ ⵊ ⵀ ⁝ , like a snake, which, they say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow. 301 789

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of the burnoose. Where will vanity stop? 292 [556]

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291 556

/38/

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301 556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka, " plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela, " plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made in two halves which are encased one in the other with copper and which are called "iouakane"

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq, " plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291 in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173 is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291 have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ [illegible] Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham, " or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173 tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183 insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291 To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183 tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291 not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576 he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

It is probably because of this custom that the Tuareg shaves his mustache and he finds it strange that we wear them. On the other hand, he wears a full beard. 182 291 302

Chapter XIX

The Woman's Saddle

I think it well to give below the following description of the very unusual mehari saddle of Tuareg women. 492

I had the opportunity to see one, of which I was able to get a sketch (see the accompanying illustration). /40/

It seems that many other saddles are handsomer, with painted wood, and they say that the beautiful Dassine suffered considerable distress when she learned that a beautiful saddle belonging to her had been plundered by one of the insurrectionists at the beginning of our establishment in the /Saharah? Oases.

The woman's saddle, which somewhat resembles a sedan chair, is placed over the hump of the mehari without touching it. It consists of the following essential parts: a rectangular seat of netted strands, supported by four uprights to which are fastened four cushions with holes in the center which rest, two on each side, on the flanks of the mehari. These cushions A are called "afelledoud" VV || ⊐⊏ , plural "ifelledad" VV || ⊐⊏ .

The uprights are fastened to each other by two transverse bars on each side.

A chain of iron links B called "imetredj" ˙|˙ O+⊐ goes around the saddle and passes through the ring of the girth C, which is called "ahif"

Onto the upright with the rear cushion, which is hidden in the picture, is attached an embroidered ornament which has hanging from it strands of wool or colored leather. This ornament D is called "tegarsim"

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather 212
than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive.

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to [177
read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all 191]

[291
643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, many of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

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1. See section on history /not translated/.

4: Benhazera--64a G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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291

A Fig Tree at Abalessa

for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the 233
camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very 511
valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan [492]
trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very
comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is [234]
also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior
to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly [262]
by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in [281]
Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and
solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also [291]
employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes [283]
with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, [422]
which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years [565]
ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information
(Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that through- [114]
out the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats
of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg
by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to 565
the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble 651
Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small [421]
temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever
they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had
all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in
having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When
in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their
vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain
times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by
Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything
demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day
have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble [431]
Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who
temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food.
Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals
when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility.

565 /50 cont./ Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162 563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. [147] They are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2,000 meters. [291 132] The Tuareg are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Taïtoks.

[162 563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the Aïr at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

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1. Died in 1952.

492 /97 cont./ For he who wants a particularly well-equipped animal, there is the "cascabou," a sort of copper fitting with pendants and little bells which is fixed on the camel's nose, giving the beast a proud appearance and classifying the owner.

The things owned in common consist of, first, the "abaïor" used as water containers; these guerbas are made of goatskin or sheepskin. The "tamhit" ("mezoued" in Arabic) are used to carry grain. Butter is made in the "edjiouer."

415 We already know the use of the tendi /mortar/ and the pestle (iharen). Fixed or turning millstones called "tahount" are used near the agricultural centers.

The "terahout" is the hemispheric dish; there are several sizes. The "tesoukalin" are the small spoons; the large ones, often pyrogaved, are called "temoulalt." The metal or baked-earth pot is called the "terrirt." Everything used for making tea has an Arabic name: the kettle (ralleye), the teapot (béred), the glasses (el kissan), and the tray (el tabla). The trivet is called "isseguida."

/98/ Clothing

291 The grand bearing of the Tuareg, which so impresses the visitor arriving in the Ahaggar for the first time, is largely due to the clothes he wears. The silhouette of the "men of the veil" becomes familiar. The fullness of the clothes and the lightness of the cloth, which favors harmonious drapings, seem to exaggerate the size of both the men and the women. European traders who give free rein to their imaginations are numerous; they speak of blue phantoms and indulge in comparisons as unreal as they are evocative. Here we must strip the Tuareg of this poetic aureole. Let us begin by the trousers, called "iqarbi" ("sarroil" in Arabic). Very full and not creased, the iqarbi has a hem at the waist which permits use of a plaited leather belt called "tamenalt"; there is no pocket. To make it, cloth 1.50 meters long by 1.40 meters wide is used. It is often made of black sateen or chegga.

291 /98 cont./ The fullness of the sarroil is indispensable for camel mounting, sitting on the ground, or sleeping.

The "éressoui" is an immense gandurah of tari (a blue cloth impregnated with indigo, which rubs off to give the Tuareg his characteristic skin tint) or of mahmoudi (white cotton fabric). The width of the gandurah must be more than the reach of the arms, or generally three lengths of cloth, about 2.40 meters. The éressoui is slit almost all the way down the sides and has an immense pocket fixed on the left-hand side of the chest. It contains eight meters of cloth 80 centimeters wide. Ordinarily, the Tuareg wear a blue eressoui over a white one; they gather on the shoulders the excess of cloth that would normally hang on the arms, giving a blue-white contrast of very striking effect. The arm is uncovered to reveal the bracelet of carved stone (serpentine) called "habidj," which is used as a defensive weapon in a fight.

A gandurah identical to the éressoui but made of cloth from the Sudan is called "takamist n'kora." /99/ This cloth is made of small bands one centimeters wide sewed together. The blue dye of the takamist is particularly prone to adhere to the skin. The Tuareg wear this article only on festive occasions, for it is very expensive.

The "tameskinout" is also a gandurah made from cloth made in the Sudan, but with bands from four to five centimeters wide. This very expensive garment is found much more rarely.

Another gandurah called "rati," which is worn only on grand occasions, has stripes of violine and beige tints; it is adorned with embroidery, forming circles on the back. The large chest pocket is also embroidered. "Taguelmoust" is the name of the brillant blue veil with carefully studied folds which hides the faces of the Tuareg and which novelists have named "litham," a word unknown in the Ahaggar. The size of the taguelmoust is generally 3.50 meters by 0.25 meters. The weaving of the Sudanese type resembles that of the

291 /99 cont./ takamist with one-centimeter bands. Judging a taguelmoust is difficult for a European; factors are the number of bands and the quality of the blue dye, which, when the cloth is new, is so brilliant that it looks like carbon paper. The taguelmoust is washed only after long wear, and can then no longer be used during a ceremony. The way he arranges his taguelmoust classifies a man, permitting initiates to distinguish between the tribes. The chèche /long scarf/, white or black, worn more and more, is an Arab importation; it has the advantage of lasting longer and costing a lot less; 4. 0 or 4. 50 meters are needed to obtain the desired effect. Some Tuareg get very nice effects arranging the chèche and the taguelmoust. Without going into the hypotheses which have been advanced to explain why the men started wearing the veil, let us say that it is the custom with the Tuareg and note that it is indispensable to wear a veil when traveling in the desert; every Frenchman who travels by camel or on foot quickly realizes that he must follow this custom or see his face take on the appearance of a lizard's skin. The taguelmoust /100/ has the advantage over the cheche of depositing a layer of greasy dye on the skin, which prevents chapping due to the dryness of the air.

The Targui's footgear is the naïl called "ighatimen." Its rounded form is well known. A leather thong passes inside the big toe, two leather bands cover the foot and are sewn nearly as high as the heel. The sole consists of three thicknesses sewn together by one or several lines of stitches. Designs of pleasing colors decorate the different naïls and make it possible to tell where they come from. The ighatimen are made in the Sudan; the best known come from Zinder or Tahoua.

The mountain tribes -- Dag Rali and Adjouh n'Téhélé above all -- make naïls of a special type called "imarkaden." The tip is straight, slightly wider than the foot, and the heel is also straight, while the sides curve in toward the arch.

291 /100 cont./ The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 752 296 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an indispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl, and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nails /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

411 /102 cont./ Let us mention for the record some weapons that are no longer carried: the "tilok," a magnificently decorated daggar held on the forearm by a leather bracelet; the "arrar," a shield of antelope skin, white, decorated in the middle with designs and metal trimmings; this large rectangle with rounded points gave the warriors a most impressive appearance. These shields are no longer to be found.

● 291 To finish with men's dress, let us note the "tabroq," a blanket coming from Timimoun called "dokali," worn on very cold days, which makes the Tuareg resemble certain American Indians.

The Tuareg women ("tamat" -- "tidedin" in the plural) wear clothes which in many ways resemble those of the men. They are not veiled, but when a stranger is presented to them, they hide their faces out of sheer modesty.

Like the men, they wear a long gandurah of tari called "erressoui," but the opening on the side is no longer than 30 centimeters under the arms. There is a white erressoui worn under the blue one. The woman also has a "takamist n'kora" that she puts on during a visit or for a fistive occasion.

/103/ She wraps herself in a large rectangle of tari, three meters by two, called "afar." The padlock key is tied to a corner of the material, and serves as a counterweight when the afar is thrown over the shoulder.

The "ikaraï" is the shawl for the head; when it is made of taguelmoust cloth, it is called "alechou"; it measures about 1.50 by 0.50 meters. During an ilougan, which is a kind of tournament on camel back, a rider snatches the alechou from a woman and flees, chased by the other Tuareg, who attempt to recapture the veil. The victor is highly regarded.

The "tabarikant" is a very large veil, three by two meters, whose very clear rose color gives a most happy effect; imported from Tripolitania, it is of very finely woven wool. The tabarikant is becoming more and more rare; it is handed down from mother to daughter and is worn only for festive

● 291 /103 cont./ occasions. The "raïki" is another veil, as large as the tabarikant and made of wool, but white; it is also very rare.

The Tuareg woman does not wear a sarroil but a kind of knee-length skirt, a simple piece of cloth tied around the waist, called "assedjebès." Young girls begin wearing assedjebès when they are nubile.

The woman wear ighatimen for footgear, carry tera, and all have a taralabt slightly different from that of the men. The iremdan is often carried without a case. In winter the tabrok (dokkali) is also a feminine garment.

[854] All of the young children are naked; later they put on the blue gandurah; the boys have a sarroil toward the age of eight or nine. At about fifteen, they begin to wear the veil.

Food

262 The Tuareg are particularly frugal eaters, and their condition of life does not predispose them to a finely prepared cuisine. Tuareg food has nothing about it to flatter the tastes of a gourmet. The few /104/ dishes palatable for a Frenchman have been borrowed from the Arabs and will not be mentioned here. [177]

The basic elements of the Tuareg diet are: millet, milk, and dates. Millet (enelé) comes from the Sudan or is harvested in the Ahaggar as a summer crop; the latter, whose grain is smaller, is better liked but is insufficient in quantity.

252 Millet (the "bechena" of the Arabs) is crushed with a pestle and winnowed to keep only the white flour. This flour is sometimes eaten just as it is after crushing: this is the "tibik" used on the trail by the hurrying cameleer, and it is sometimes used even in camp.

Also called tibik is a more complicated preparation: millet is crushed, winnowed, then washed and put in a tarahout. Heated pebbles are buried in the grain until it become slightly cooked or rather roasted. The progress of the

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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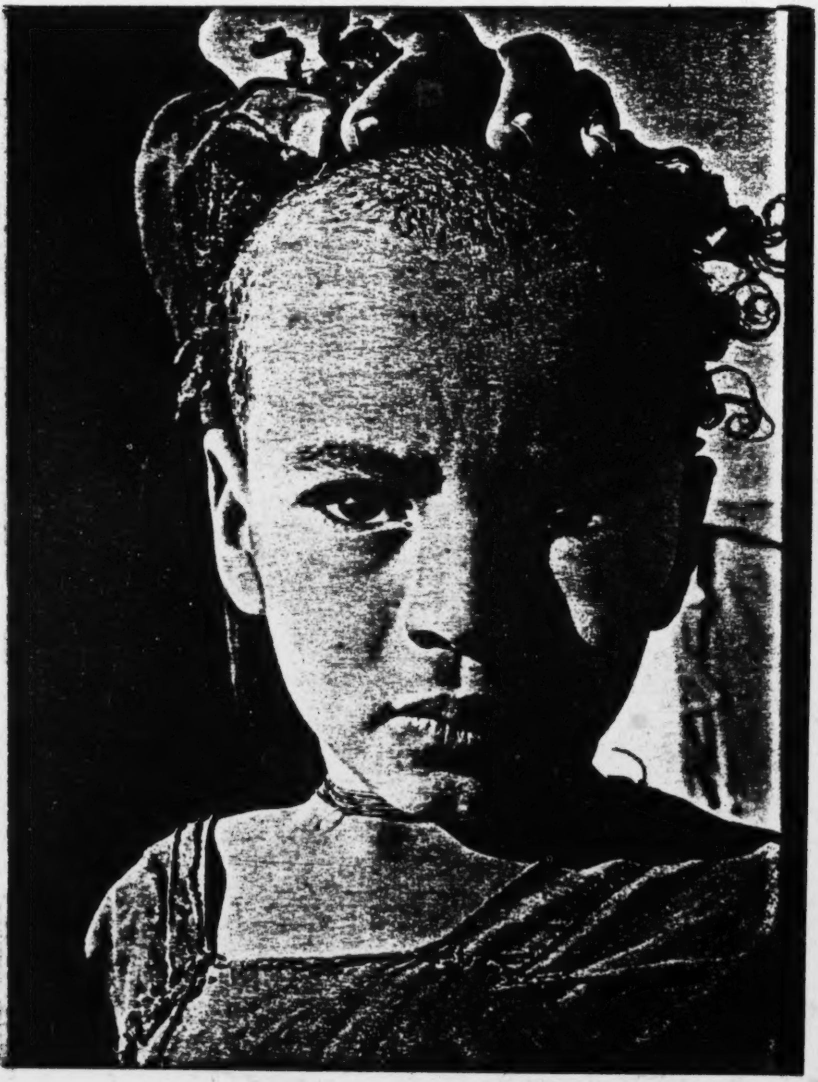

17. Beyh ag Sidi Moussa, nephew of the present amenokal.

[p. 202]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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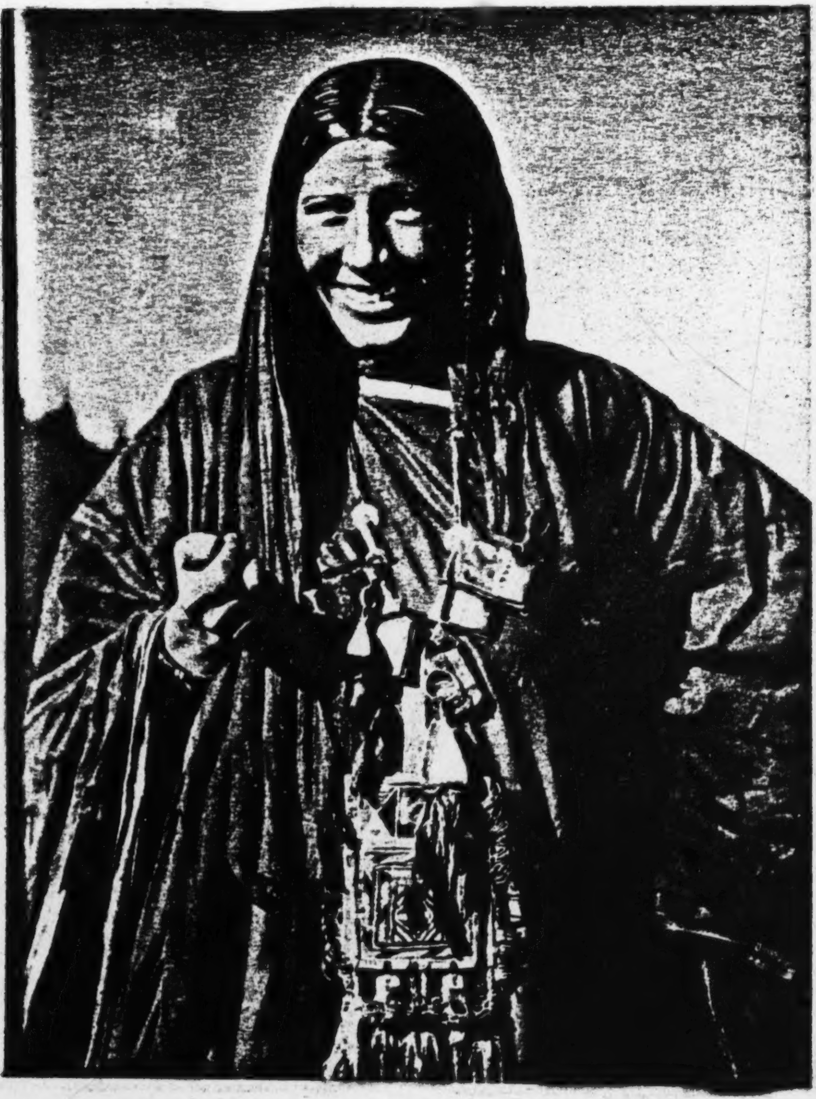

18. Rhama, woman of the Iklan Taoussit tribe.

[p. 203]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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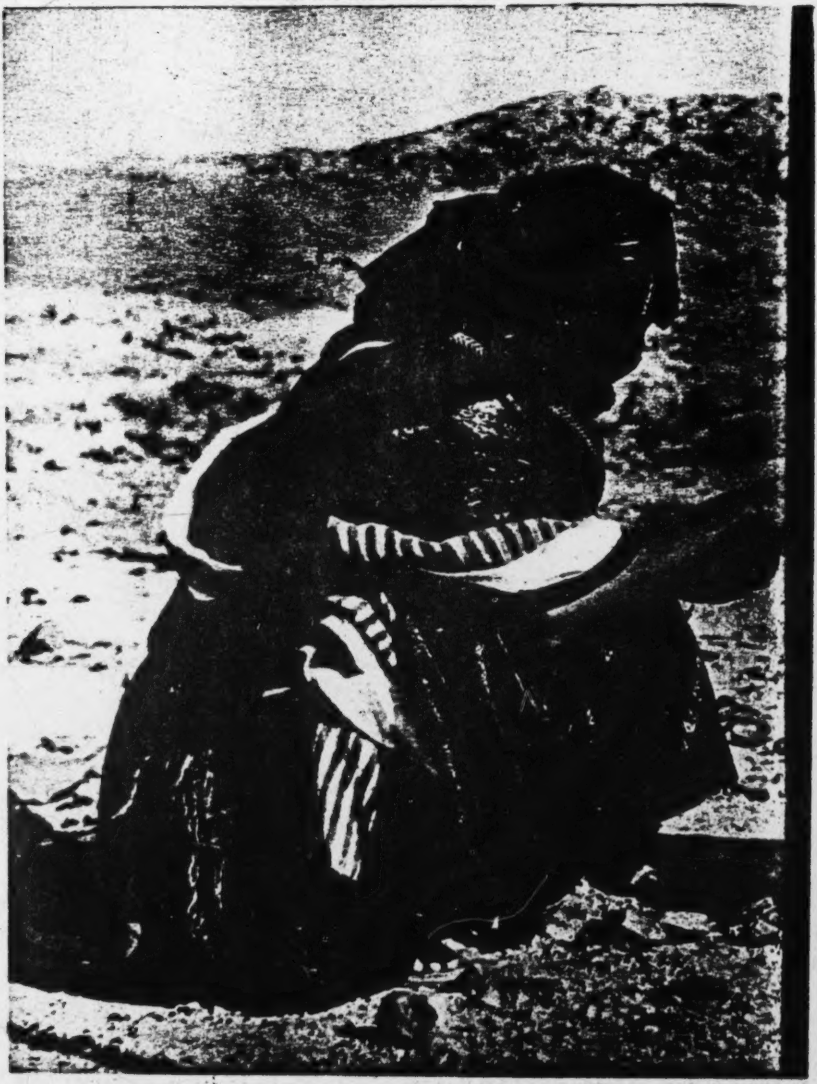

19a. Tuareg of the Taītok tribe talking things over in their favorite position. [p. 204] [left - see p. 205]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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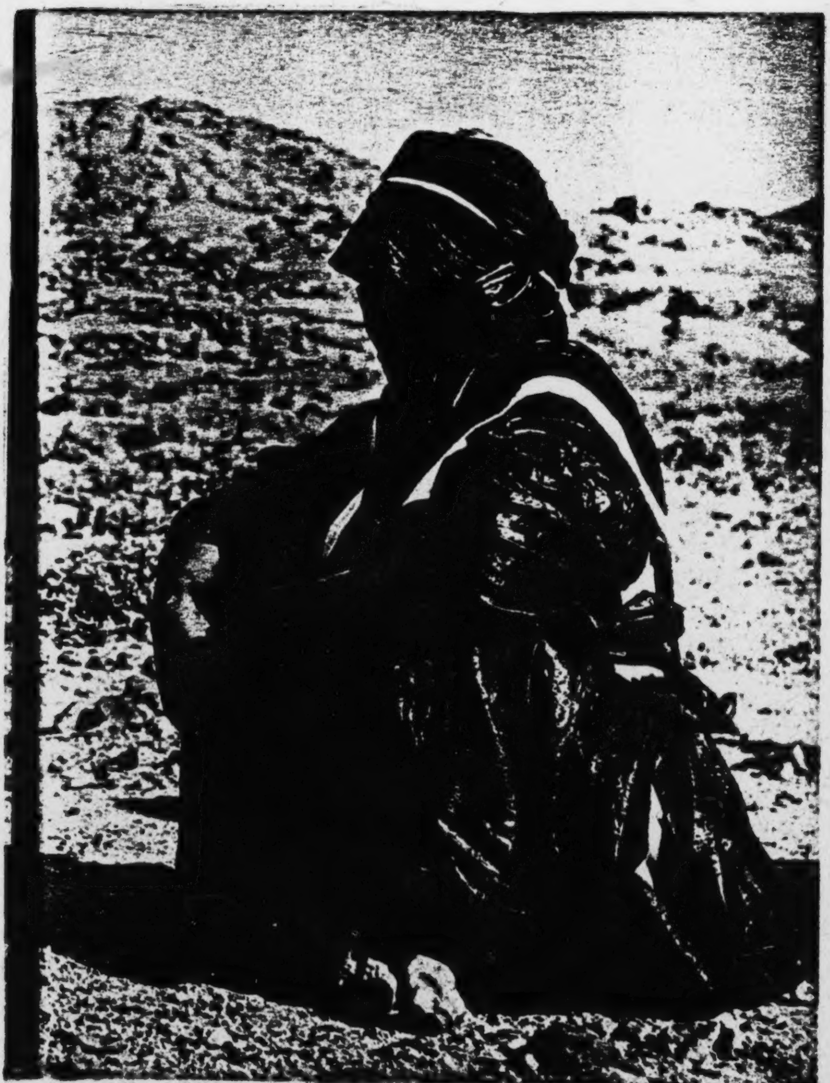

19b.

[p. 205] [Right - see p. 204]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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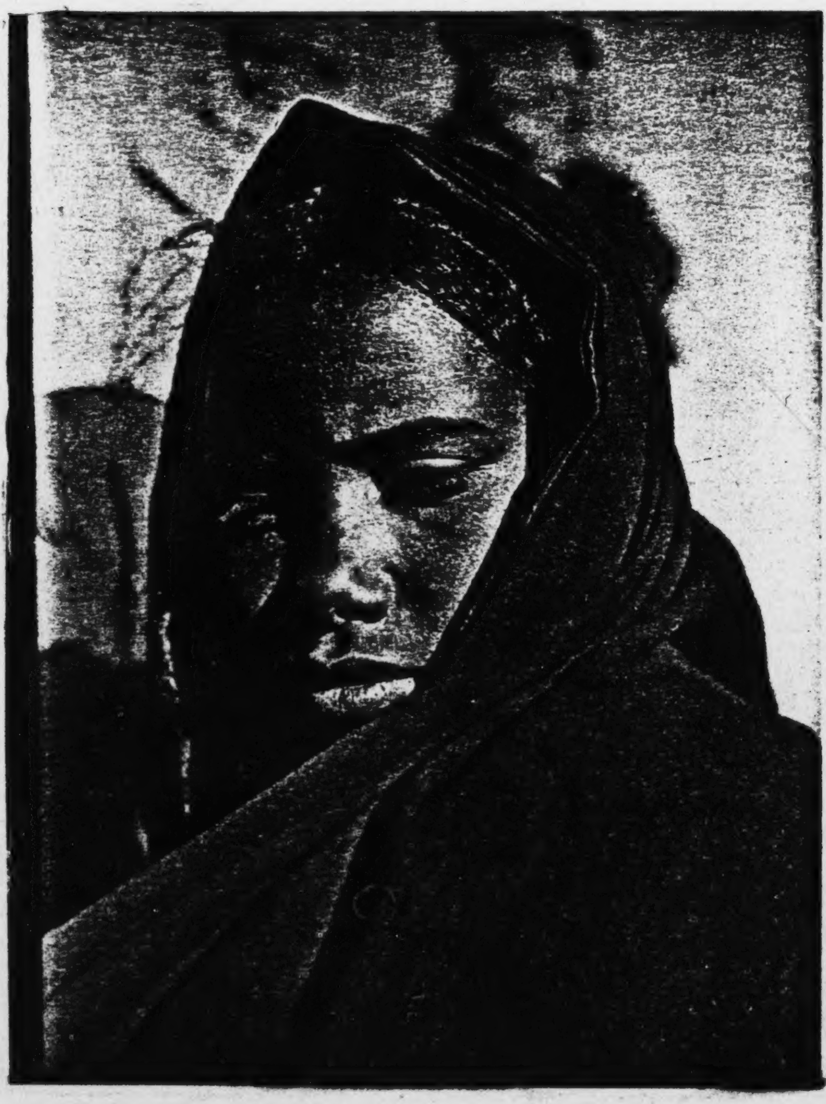

22. Young harratin of Ideles.

[p.209]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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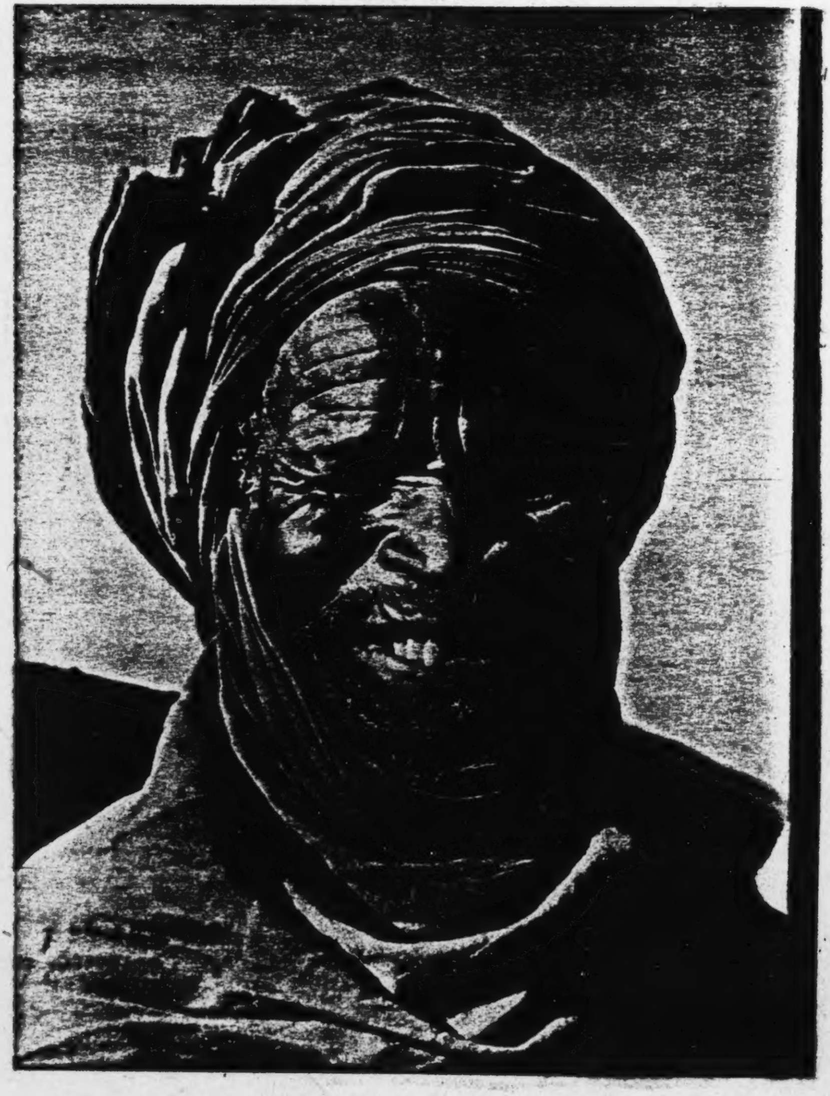

23. A hartani type.

[p. 210]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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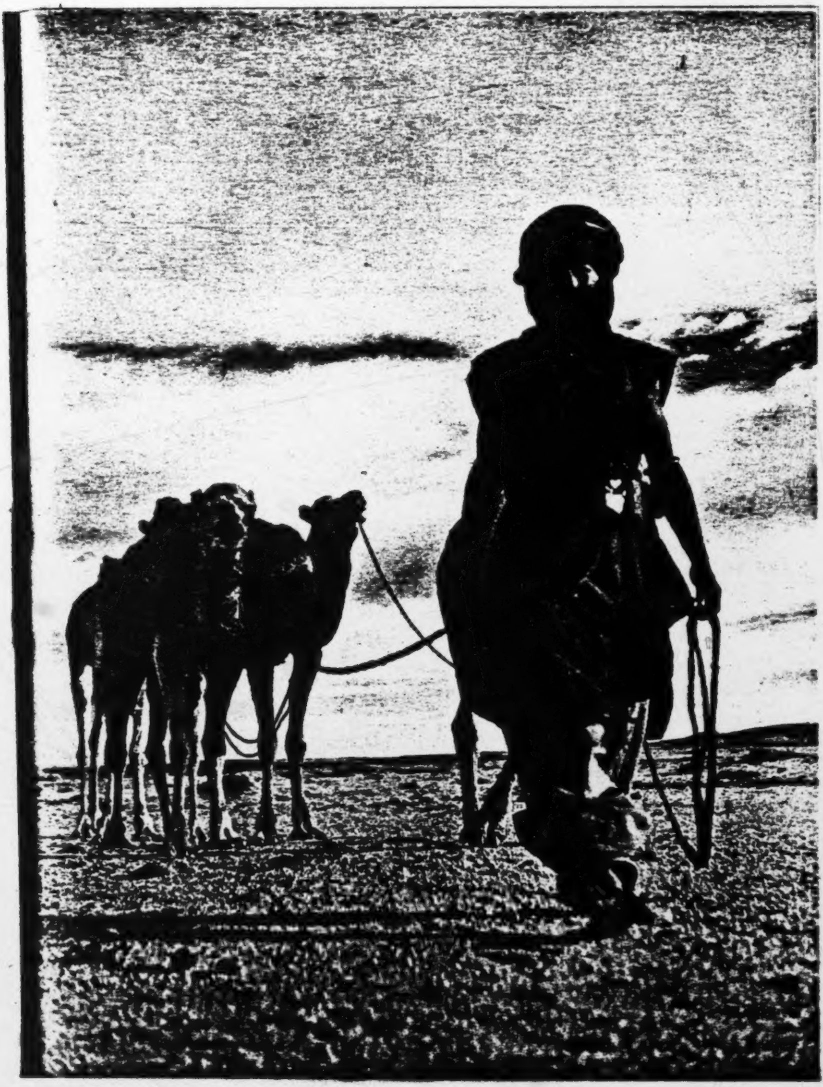

28. In the pastureland rounding-up the animals.

[p. 215]

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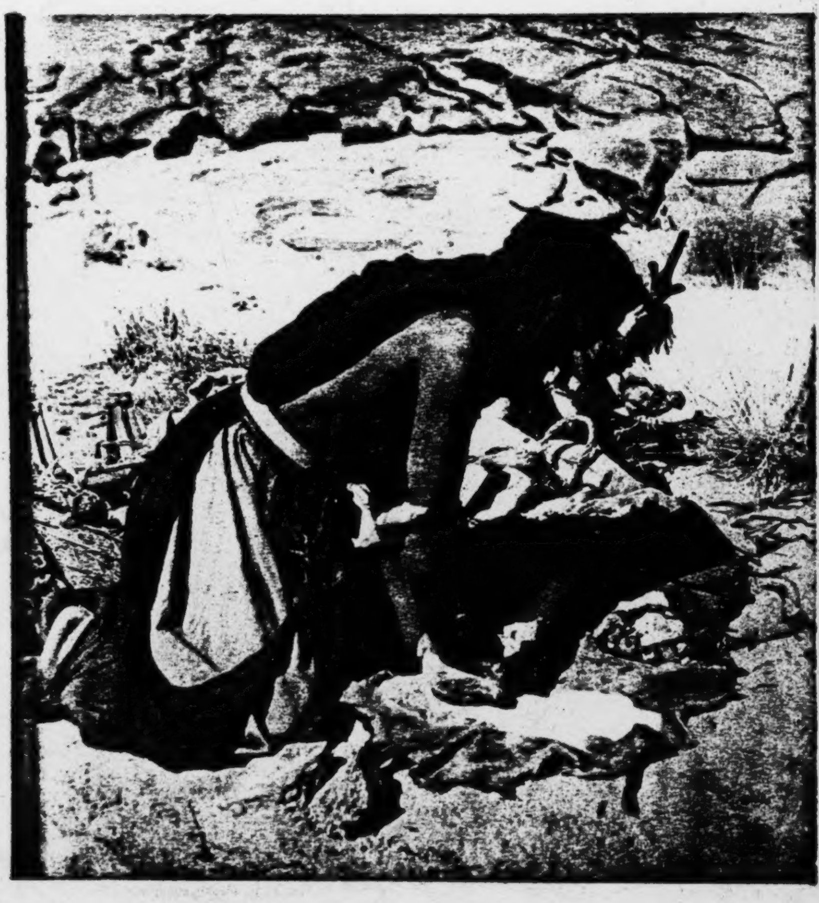

35. During a stop a Targui grinds his millet in a sheep's skin.

[p. 223]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MA25 Tuareg MS25
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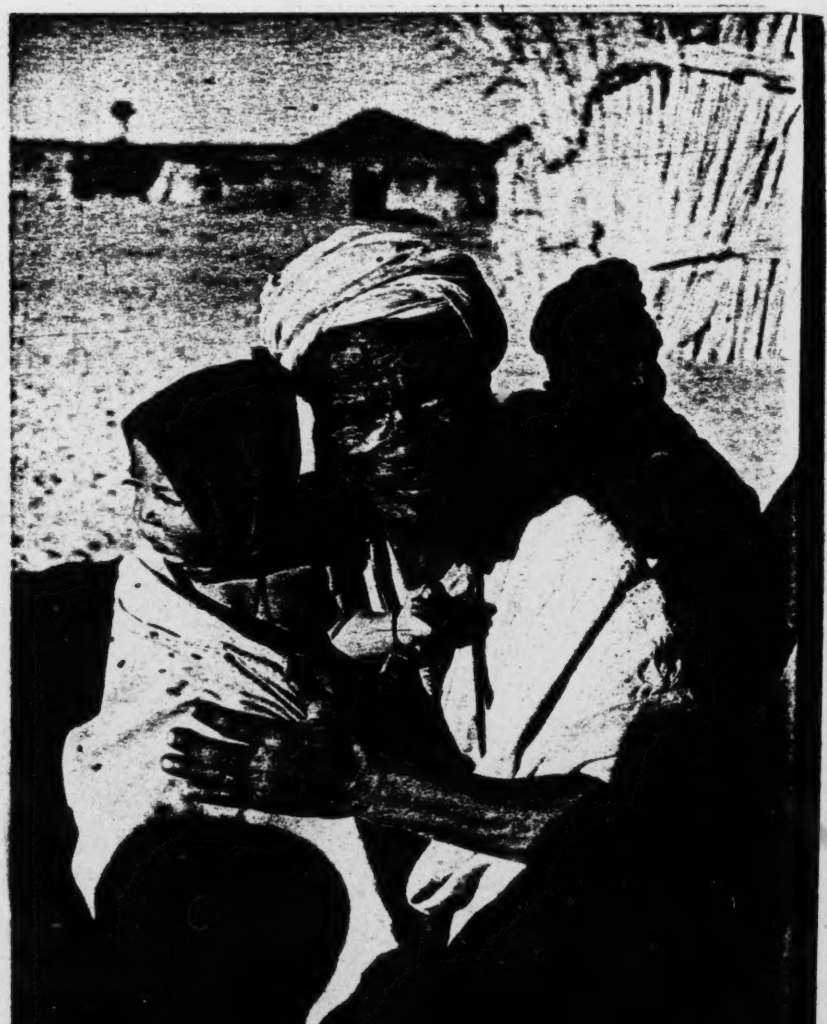

38. Young Targui and his black servant at Ideles.

[p. 226]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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40. Harratin family at Tahaggart.

[p.228]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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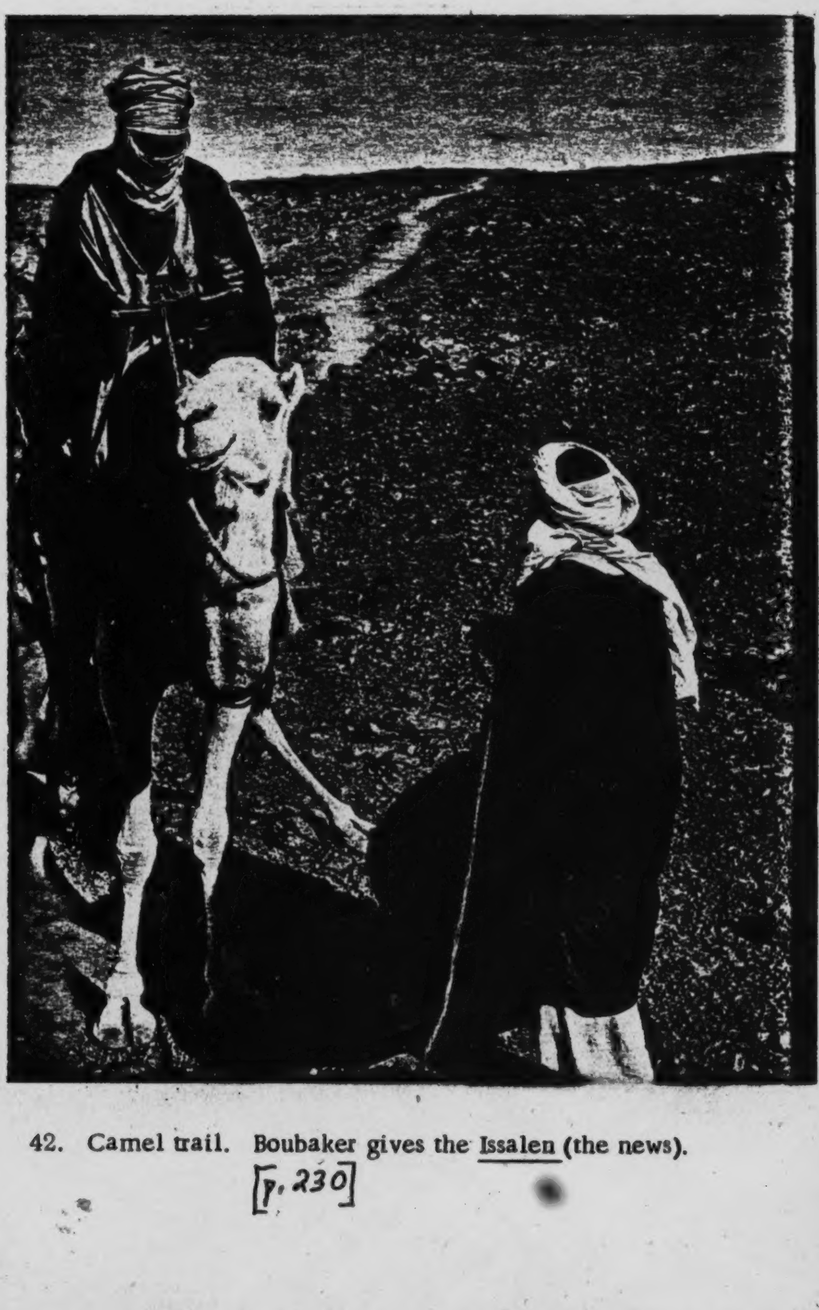

42. Camel trail. Boubaker gives the Issalen (the news).

[p. 230]

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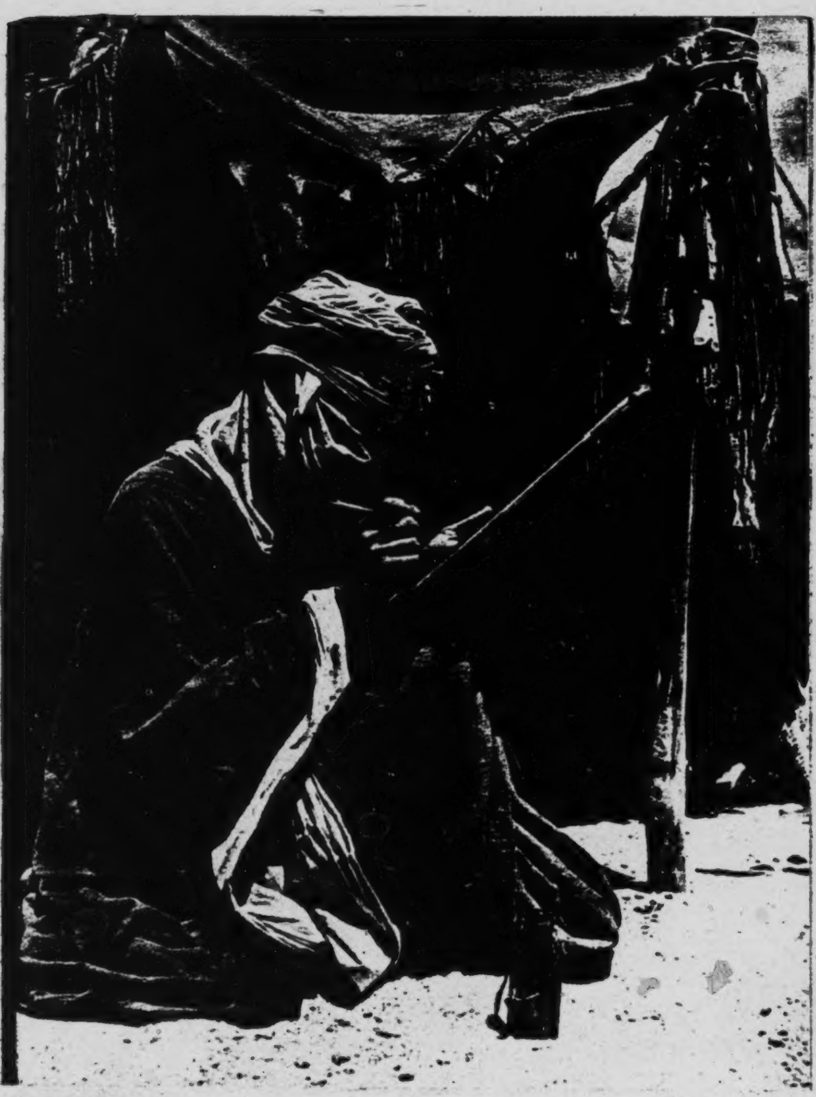

45. The public scribe.

[p. 233]

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Boy of the noble class, *Kel Tahabanat* on the Niger.

565 619 *Imɣad* (sing. *Ameɣid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imɣad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imɣad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Duɣu* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imɣad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imɣad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeɣen*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 525 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhaɣ* (sing. *Amahaɣ*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeɣen* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targu* (Ayr) or *Targa* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targu* or *Targa* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert [291] climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they [518] rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Ɽat and Ɽadames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of [648] the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

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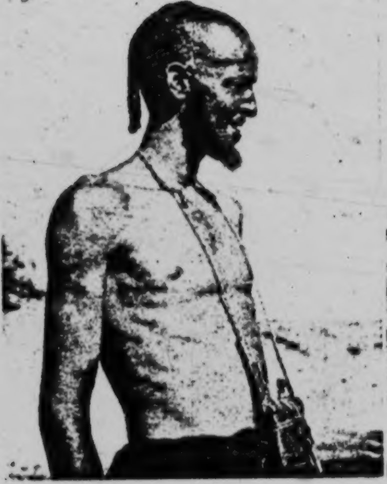

Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

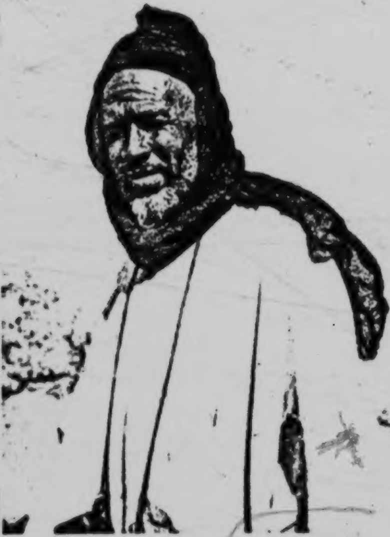

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilè-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals
had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally
described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not
hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the
groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often
quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large
flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

826 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never
832 known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women
142 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology
114 are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

● 291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A
[754] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an
291 "evil mouth" beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehot*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere
576 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one.
[609] Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always
[606] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women
[609] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence
[606] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

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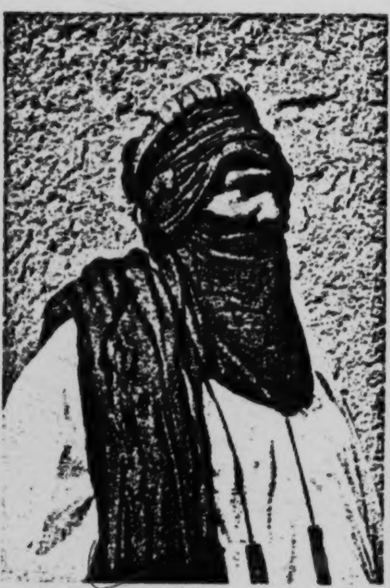

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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg, Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

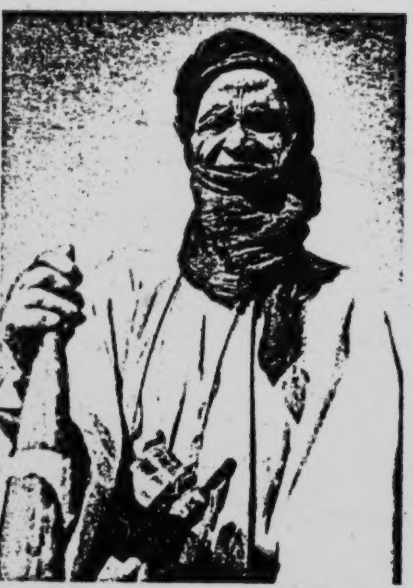

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Taytok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are
believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all
Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the
nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain
families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless
considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

Iklan (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become 564
incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 567

Izeggaṛen (sing. *Azeggaṛ*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs 564
as *Ḥarratin* (sing. *Ḥartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this

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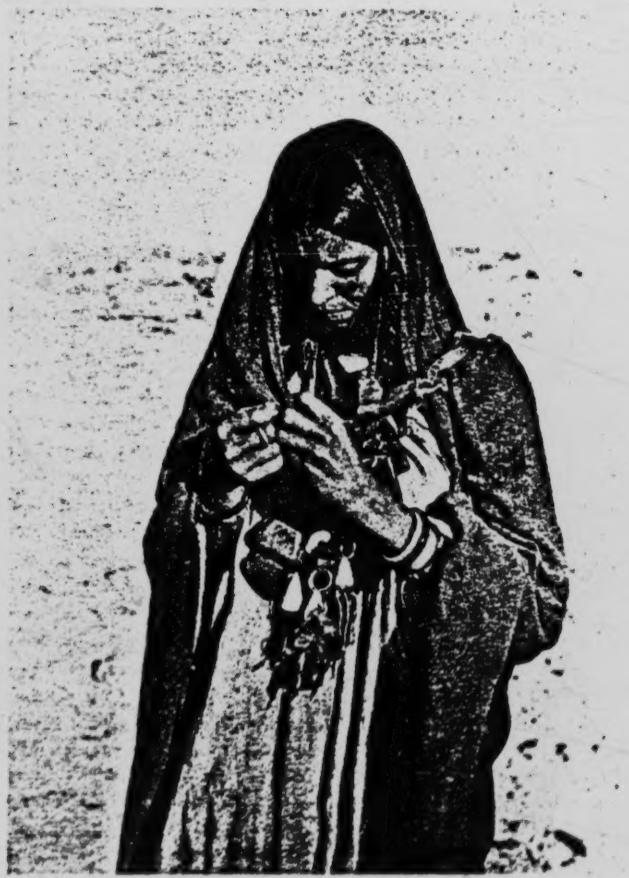

Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

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have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting
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that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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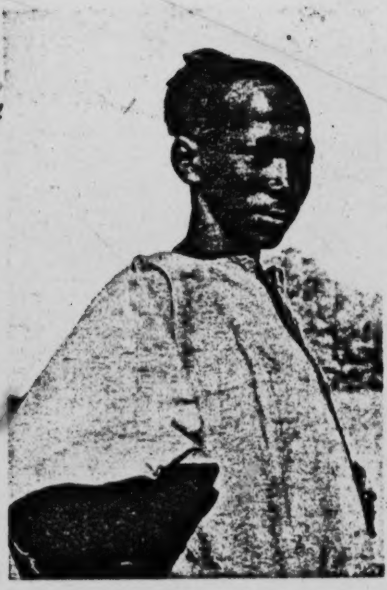

Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ġanet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ġanet.

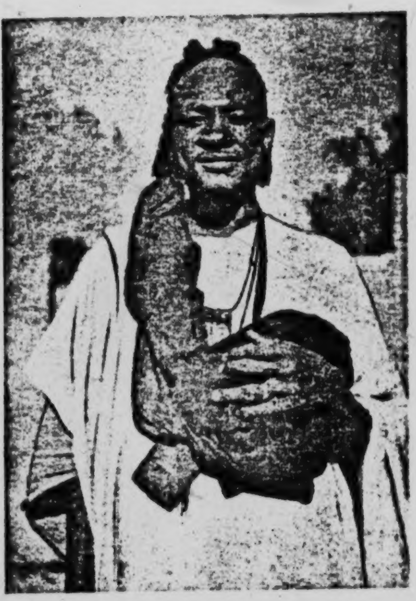

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

ténet	*tamacheḳ*	*English*
wochimbagen	*ineden*	blacksmiths
wosilkum	*echink*	porridge
tikulkumin (pl.)	*tikammarin*	cheese
ohundegan	*aman*	water
ogera	*éṛef*	head
tokonderey	*timezzugin*	ears
tedroragen	*tittawin*	eyes

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *agera* = "leather bag".

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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg
[564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes
[565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble
563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman
591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of
563 Ahaggar (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaṛen*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many
[197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanṛaset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Ṛezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area 101
in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim 563
patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg.

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonɽay-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonɽay-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isaweɽen*. The Sonɽay, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonɽay, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonɽay-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talaķ plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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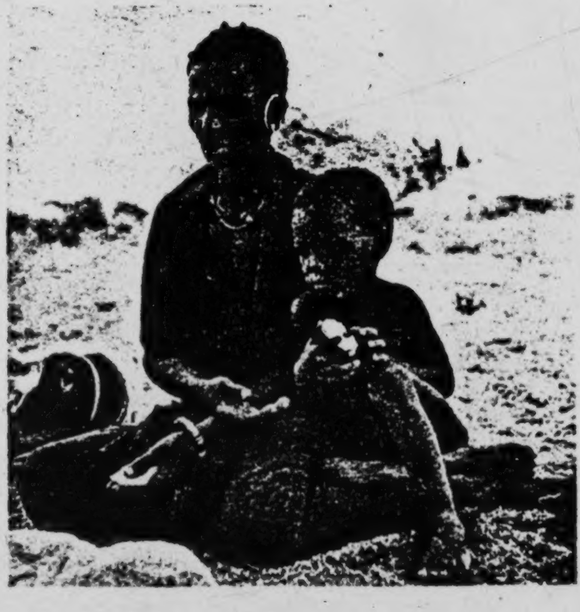

Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much 233*
goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg 262
claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would
be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young
male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals
do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction,
and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place,
but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering.

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every 237
year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert 415
necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made
from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft
that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the
word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg 126
contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the 342
manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made
from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.). 291

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season
when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering 283
animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used 286
for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size 233*
of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, 128
as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of

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Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, asedres*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terurit* tribe.

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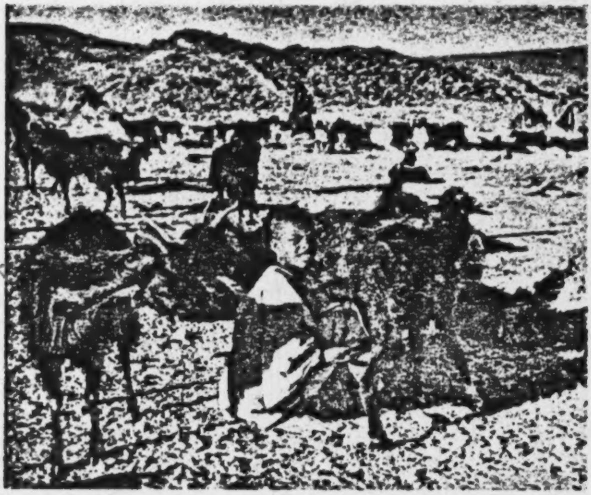

Fig. 23. Slave boy milking goats – a task which is normally performed by women. The milk-bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

GOAT MILKING

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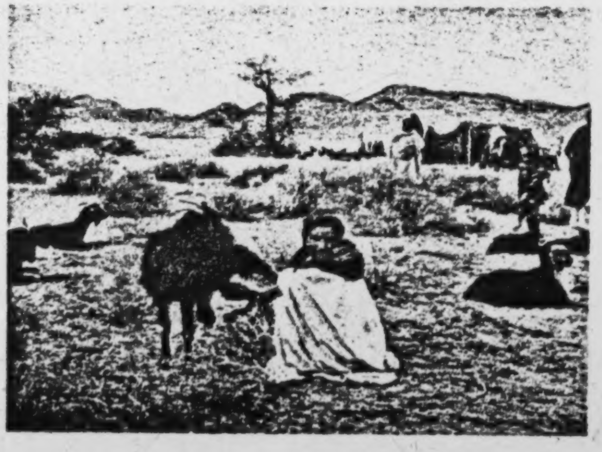

Fig. 24. Tuareg milkmaid milking a goat as described Fig. 23. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

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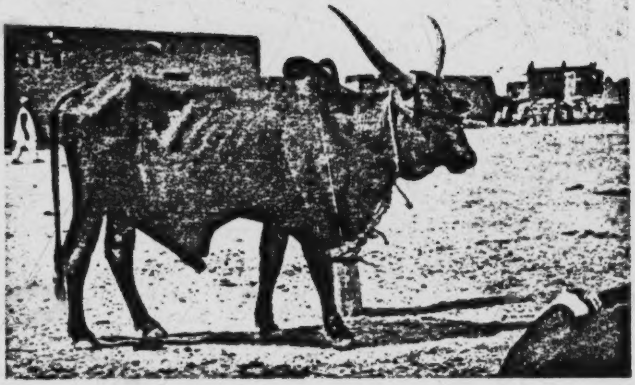

Fig. 27. Zebu ox of the long-horned Fulani breed. Ayr, Agadez.

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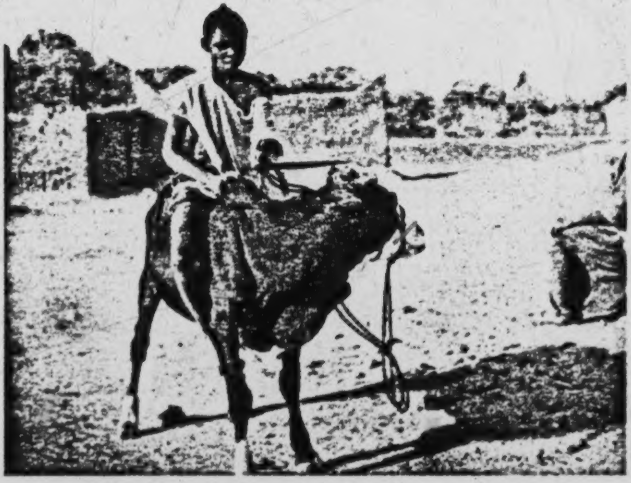

Fig. 28. *Ḥartani* boy riding a young ox. Ahaggar, Tamanṛaset.

CAMELS

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Camels are very important domestic animals in all Tuareg groups, and they also play a great part in the subsistence of most Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The common Arab camel breed, which is known to the Tuareg as *marroki*, is also found in Northern Tuareg country – particularly among the *Kel Ajjer*. It is heavily built and is extremely well fitted for transportation. It is a very strong breed in spite of its relatively low stature, and it has large feet which is considered an eminent quality for pack camels. This *marroki* camel has a thick cover of wool on the hump and on the fore-part of the body, while Tuareg camels, which are of higher stature and more elegantly built, in general have little or no wool, but only a short coat of hair much like that of cows and horses. Tuareg camels may have long hairs around the hump but true Tuareg camels have no proper coat of wool. Though the *marroki* breed is excellent for transportation and is considered a better milch-animal than the southern Tuareg breed, the Tuareg generally prefer their own elegantly built camels, and they look down upon the heavily built camels of the north. However, as mentioned, there are some *marroki*

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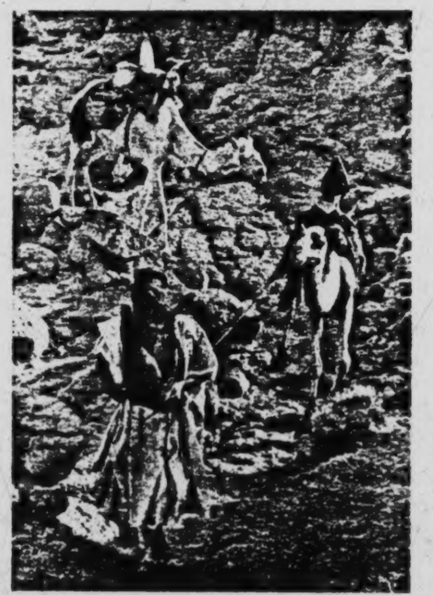

Fig. 33. Tuareg with riding camels. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

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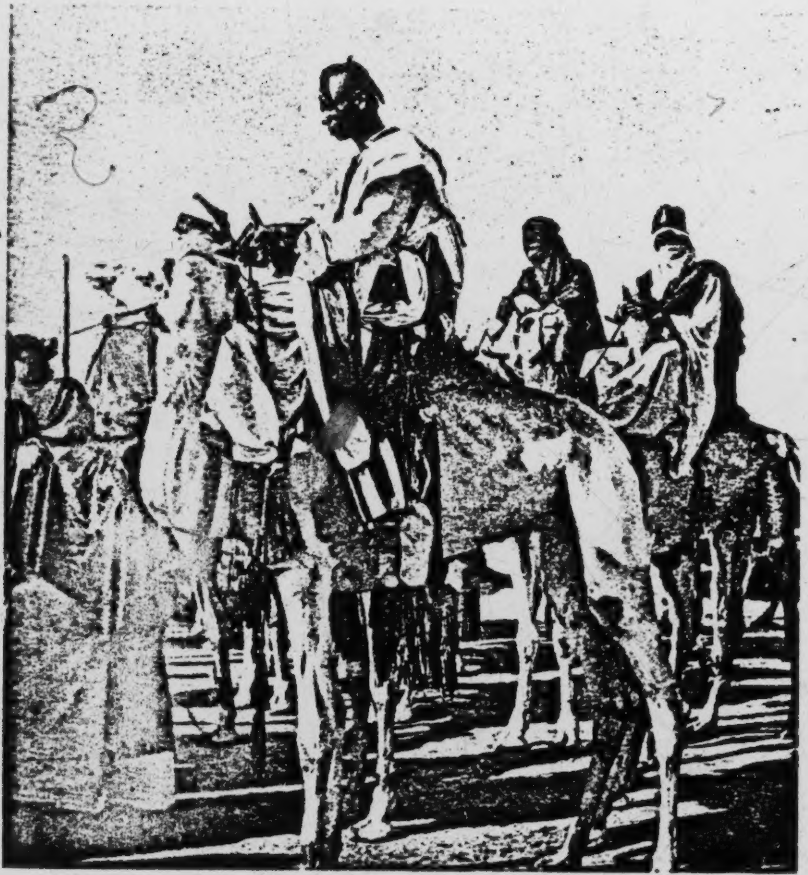

Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders. The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg 233*
camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Sahara, but I was [171]
told among *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while
camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been [214]
able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

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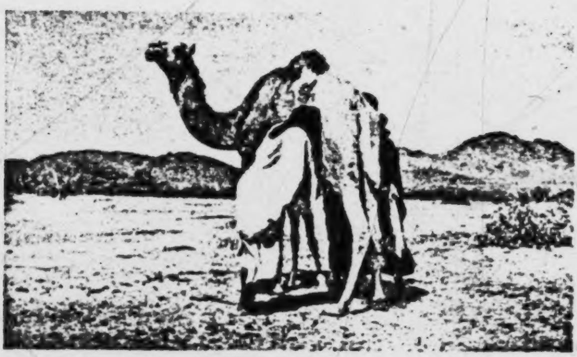

Fig. 36. Two Ayr Tuareg milking a she-camel with the colour name *tawinaḳ*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

They draw out the placenta (in Ayr known as *t'imidin*) by the attachment of a heavy stone to the membrane 233*
(*abayor*). It is also common a few hours after birth to draw a little milk from the mother camel
and pour this milk into the calf's mouth in order that the new-born animal may be able to stand upright
and suck its mother quickly. When this has been done it is normal to bleed the mother-camel.
Some milk drawn on the day a she-camel has borne a calf is frequently consumed by the Tuareg (cf. [272]
éderes, p. 221), but with this exception the new-born calf is allowed to drink all its mother's milk for
the first days after birth. The period during which the calf sucks freely varies. It depends on the yield
of the mother-camel and is also determined by the amount of milk available to the owners from other
animals. Milking may exceptionally start already four or five days after birth, but this is not normal. [234]
The calf is frequently allowed all milk for a fortnight, or even for a whole month. In Ahaggar when
pastures are very dry it is quite normal not to milk a mother-camel at all for a still longer period.

The entire suckling period, that is the period in which the calf is allowed to drink part of its mother's 233*
milk, including the short period when it sucks freely, also varies. But here there is one main rule: a 234
calf is allowed to suck as long as its mother-camel is milked, for she-camels, like cows, do not generally
yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. It is normal to mate a she-camel about one year
after the birth of a calf. She will then yield milk for about six months after mating, so that the total
suckling period is about 18 months, at the end of which period the calf will be allowed very little milk.
If a she-camel is not mated so soon it may yield milk for a longer period, and the suckling period may
even be up to about two years when the calf is a grown animal almost as big as its mother.

There are various methods to secure milking in case a camel has lost its calf. The dead calf may 234
be substituted by another calf, but the dummy-calf is also used with she-camels. This device is known
as *ahayoy* (Ahaggar), or *azeyuz* (Ayr). Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr it is claimed that some she-camels
can be milked without their calves if their udder is patted in a particular way with the hands – which
treatment is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the name *ewlewl*. The method of blowing into the vagina
described above for cows (p. 51) is never employed with she-camels. But there is another method for

[text continues on p. 59]

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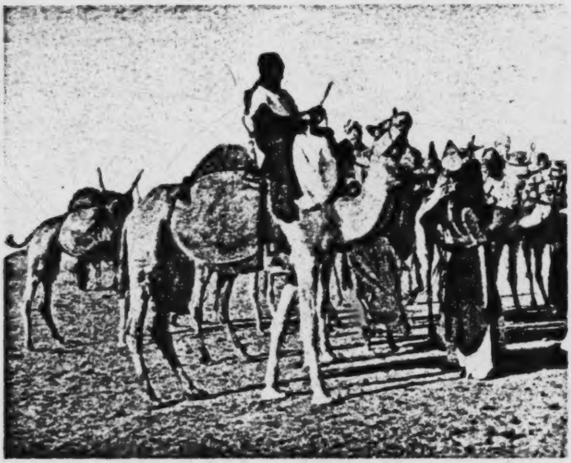

Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 [562] The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésagaley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of [285] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. *492 562 [484] [566] The structure of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[text continues on p.92]

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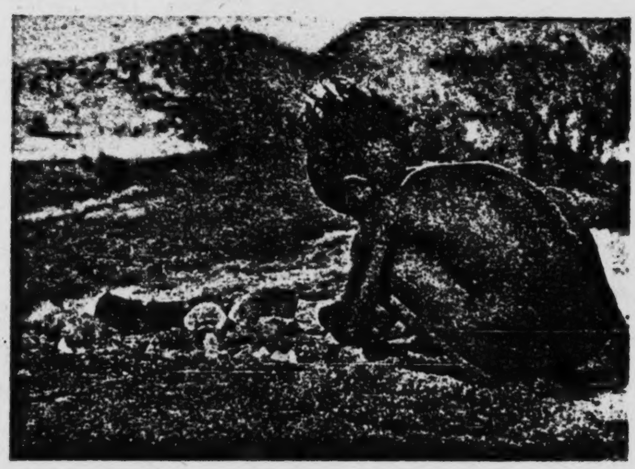

Fig. 80. Tuareg boy with his toy camels of cut stones. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

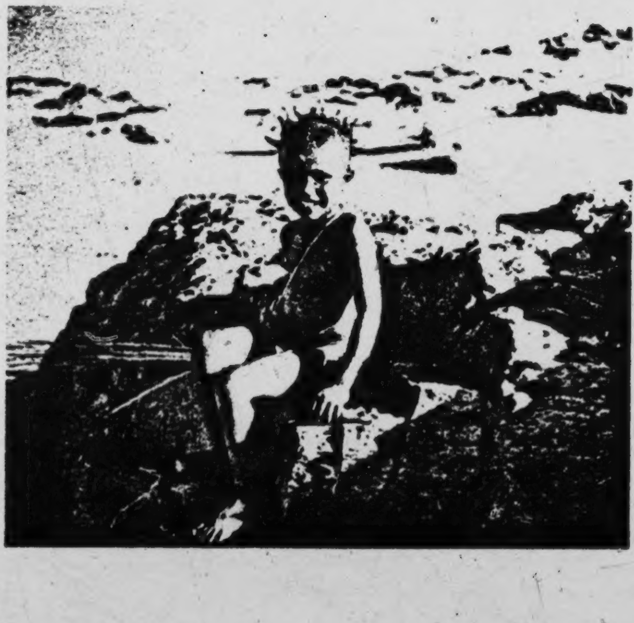

Fig. 81. Tuareg boy playing camel-riding on a rock. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

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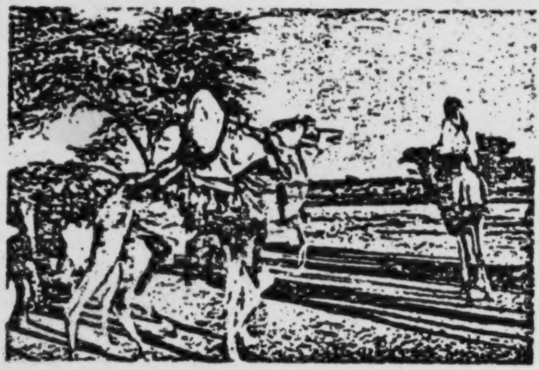

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Ifrwdlen*.

857 Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-
233 games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain
[524] domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from
[566] cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among
vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is
due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

884 Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton
[291] used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-
[881] cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the
[411] young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle
*[492] it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is
[517] now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both
[832] sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and
*[492] the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love.
[565] The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered
[533] qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they
[431] will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured
[531] skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his
riding camel.

526 In a ceremonial ride termed *ihaqan* (*ilagan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other
*492 feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their
585 own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where
[512] the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented
[533] camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their
songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasize is not so much on such

the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour-terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them, which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they consider this method very effective. 231 [177]

CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab [174] invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs. The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their [136] camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanṛaset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or *tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans [177] living at Tamanṛaset.

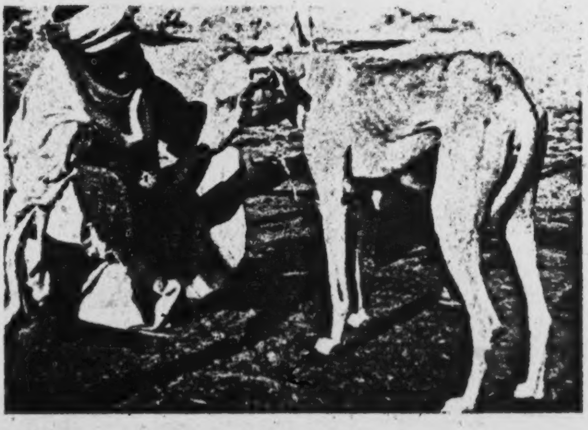

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Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*oska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ġanet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Uraɣen* tribe.

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[492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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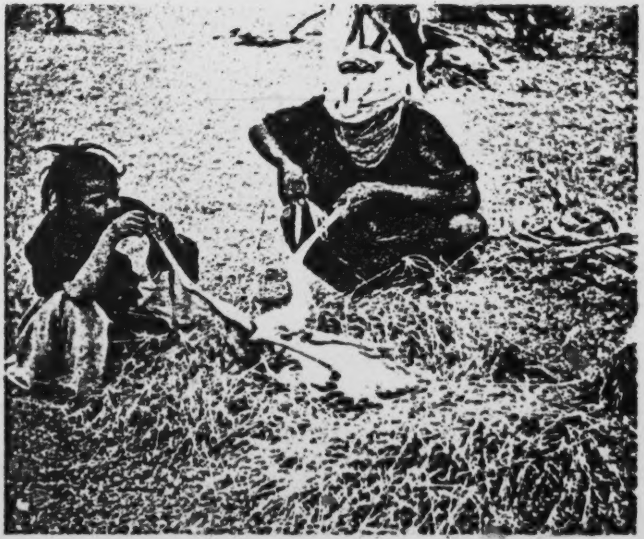

Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taytoq* tribe.

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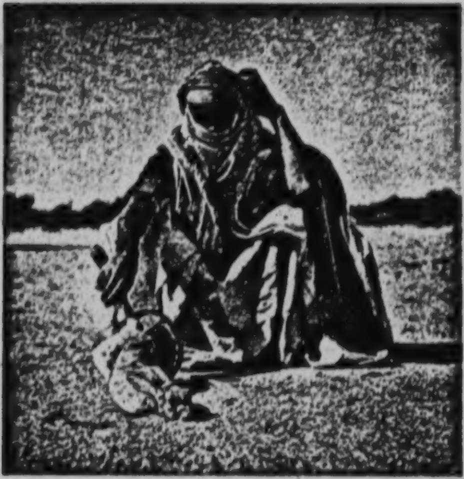

Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Ḫartani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkhemjet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 565 [757] by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 564 565 262 [432] [484] In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb* in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *arata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

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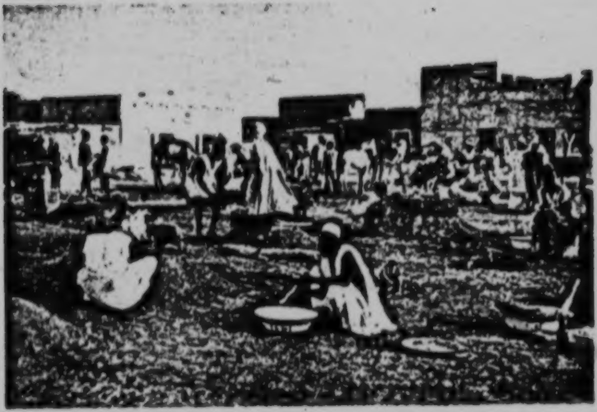

Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others
[437] kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[221] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar
again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound
caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by
camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influ-
enced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946
exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted
to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of
Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of
tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[465] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount
grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment
of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can
also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg
receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953,
p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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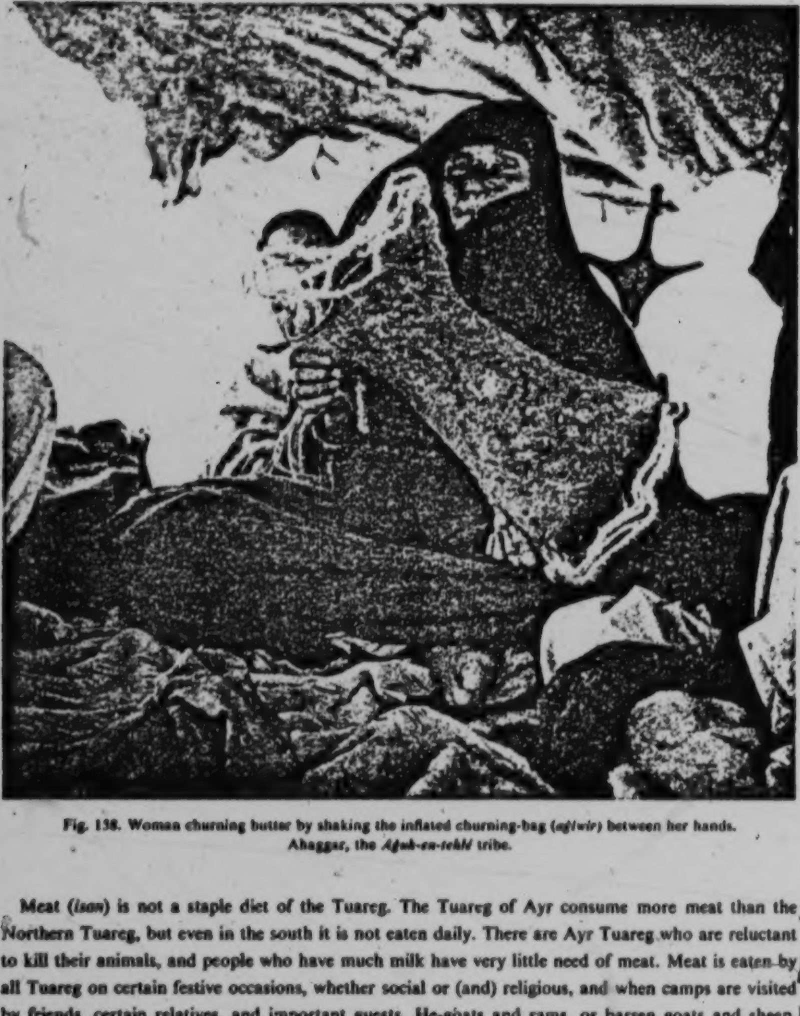

Fig. 138. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*agîwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Ašuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

Meat (*isan*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the 262
Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant
to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by [574]
all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited
by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, [231]
are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat [262]
meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 000

[text continues on p. 231]

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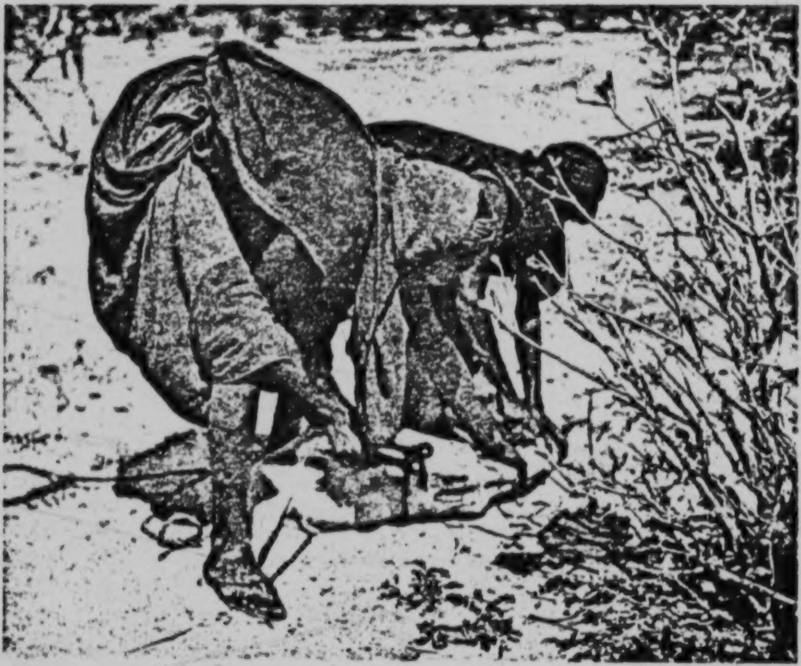

Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnawen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

412 *Ḥarratin* (*Iẓeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is 252 less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanṛaset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

[252] Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

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Fig. 173. Tuareg skinning a ram. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

252 by placing the dough on a baking sheet. The other type of bread is generally known by the Arabic word *khubz*. This is baked from dough placed in the sand close to the fire, where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and glows. These two types of bread in Ahaggar are baked mainly by sedentary agriculturists and by Arab families. The type of bread traditionally baked by the Tuareg differs from Arab bread in that it is not made from proper dough, but from a kind of thin porridge or gruel consisting of flour mixed with water. This Tuareg type of bread is known as *tajella* and is baked as follows:— A heavy fire is lit in a shallow depression (about 25–30 cms in diameter and 8–10 cms deep) made

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bowl and the plaited tray just described, and the flour is shaken into the large wooden bowl (*elkada*; Fig. 195b) while the unpounded seeds remain in the plaited receptacles. (3) The small amount of seeds which have not yet been turned into flour is put back into the mortar, a little water is again added, and pounding is resumed for five to ten minutes. Most seeds are now turned into flour which is placed in the wooden bowl by shaking the plaited receptacles. (4) The seeds which are not yet pounded after this treatment are replaced in the mortar to be pounded for two or three minutes without the addition of water. The flour produced is shaken into the wooden bowl. (5) What remains unpounded is replaced in the mortar to be pounded without water for two or three minutes, and the flour obtained is shaken into the wooden bowl. (6) The flour is put into the large cooking pot (*éṛir*) which has been boiling with water during pounding. (7) An extremely small quantity of flour derived from a final pounding is added to the pot after cooking for about five minutes. (8) During cooking the porridge is stirred with a wooden stick known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aserwi* (Fig. 188). 252 [8/15]* [4/12]

Millet porridge (*esink*, or *echink*) is of heavy consistency and is normally eaten with milk by means of spoons. But if milk is lacking or is scarce, the Tuareg also add various types of sauces such as the following which is made by many Ayr Tuareg:—Leaves of certain plants (*abezey*, *Cassia tora*; *malokhiya*, *Corchorus tridens*; *kukà*, a large tree growing in the Sudan) or seeds of a plant known as *ékabewa* (*Corchorus olitorius*) are put into a large mortar to be pounded together with onions, dried tomatoes, 262 252 [824]

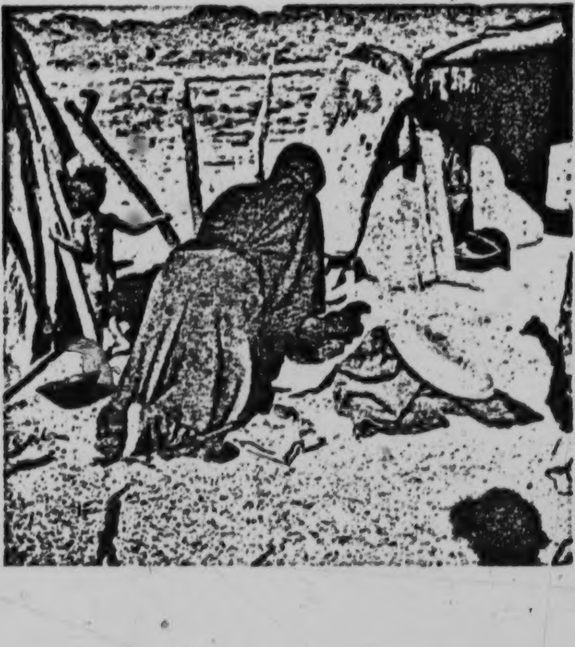

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Fig. 180. Tuareg woman grinding wheat on the simple saddle quern (*tehunt*). The saddle quern is placed upon a piece of skin (leather) called *asentel* which receives the flour. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe.

among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, 262
that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isnawen*. It is considered 846
dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to
make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision 262
until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot 262
season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aṛejira* (Ayr) or *aṛehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk [412]
by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for [251]
milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *aṛejira* and *aṛehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded [252]

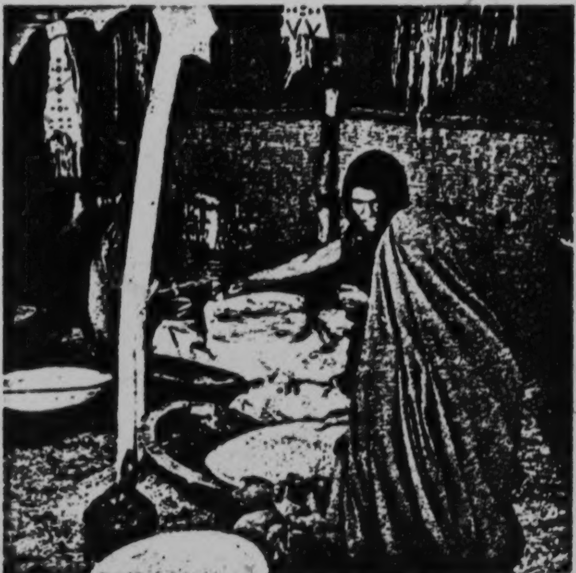

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Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tasirt*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ġali* tribe.

[text continues on p. 247]

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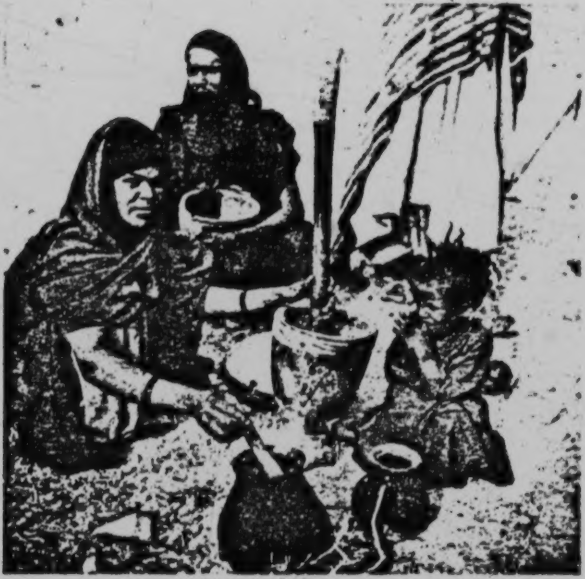

Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Ağuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like
264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the
262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed
[189] *tikhemmeẓin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *iberğan*
252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez*
[261] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for
*415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make eartenware pots themselves. 252
They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared 415*
with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various [323]
vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to
confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable 252
dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *téblik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change 262
their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *taġimġimt* which is a light meal taken in the 264
morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *aṛehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *[illegible]* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *aẓuẓeġ*. It is the most important meal.

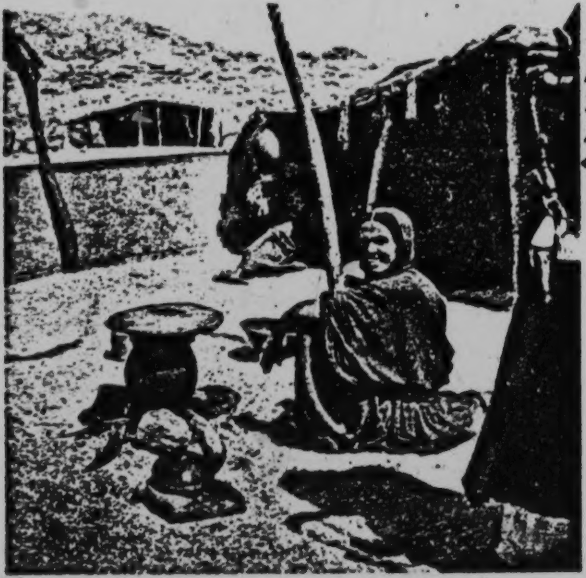

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Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ġali* tribe.

Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress orna- 29
mentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of [28]
certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural
position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm 292
leaves and known as *télé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind, [285]
are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of
the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but [171]
also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the [172]
Arabic speaking *Ḥarratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen
plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used [184]
among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments 291
the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general 294
chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Miṣr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly 291
for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo [292]
or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced [728]
the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

[p. 287]

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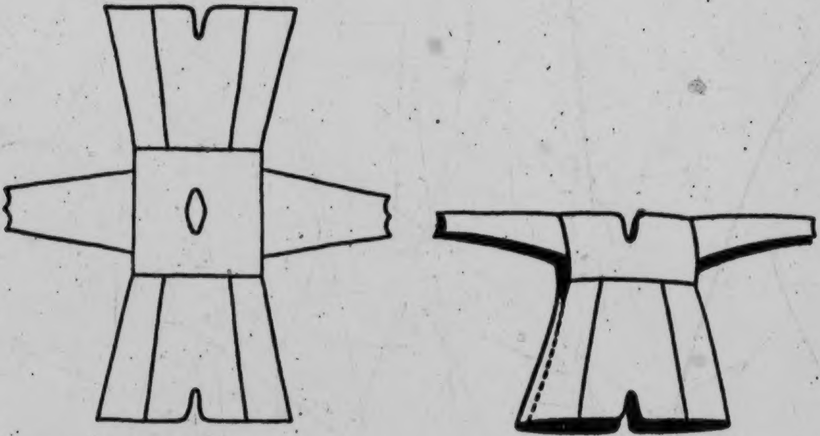

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetiḳ*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Inɣer* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

291 I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain [237] parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Iseḳḳemaren* who use skin of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetiḳ*, and is described as follows:—

291 294 "Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine, avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnont ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).

291 The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size, [281] and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Inɣer* tribe (*Iseḳḳemaren*). [292] It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Ṛali* slaves.

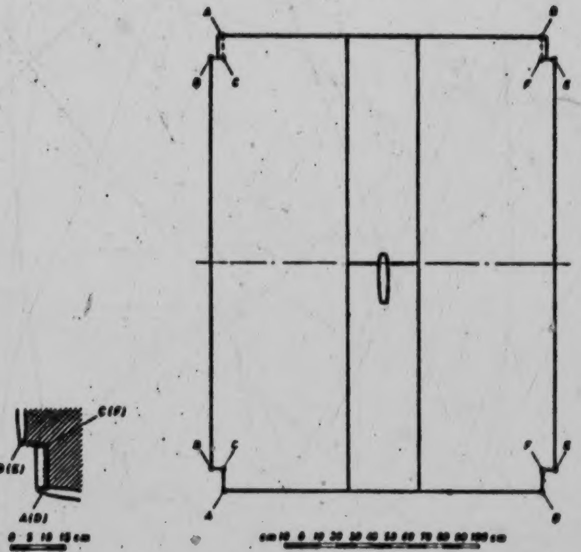

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Fig. 233. Cut to illustrate a Tuareg cotton shirt of poncho type. The central part of this shirt is made from two pieces of cotton sewn together at the neck opening; most shirts have a single central cotton piece. The shirt depicted derives from Tasilé-n-Ajjer where a complete woman's dress was bought in 1952. This dress comprises the following pieces which are all made of modern European cotton:—

a. Shirt (*tékamist*) of indigo cotton. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.32 m long. The *Kel Teruri̇t* tribe (cf. illustration).
b. Shirt (*tékamist*) of similar cut but of white cotton. On festive occasions the women frequently wear a white shirt under the indigo-coloured one. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.34 m long. The *Kel Teruri̇t* tribe. [292]
c. Large piece of indigo cotton 192 × 1.15 m which serves as underskirt or petticoat (*asegbes*). Éléẓi (Ft. Polignac).
d. Large piece of indigo cotton 1.565 × 1.935 m which serves as a kind of shawl covering head, shoulders, and back. It is called *tikest*. Éléẓi (Ft. Polignac).
e. Headcloth (*ékerhey*) similar to the man's veil (*tagulmust*). It is made of Sudanese indigo cotton measuring 2.14 × 0.25 m. Éléẓi (Ft. Polignac). (N.M. G. 5488a–e).

It is more than likely that skin shirts of poncho type have also once been used in Ayr, where the 291
Tuareg say that skin was widely used for dress during the 1917-revolt when cotton was scarce.

The cotton shirts worn by adult Tuareg men are of various types and possess individual names. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally wear a sleeve-less shirt called *takerbast*, or a shirt known as *tékamist* which has large sleeves. There are other names for shirts with or without sleeves (cf. Foucauld 1951– 291
52, I, p. 610 f.), but all shirts are of the same basic cut based on the poncho principle. The poncho 294
cut is very obvious the more so as the shirts are frequently made from one piece of cotton provided

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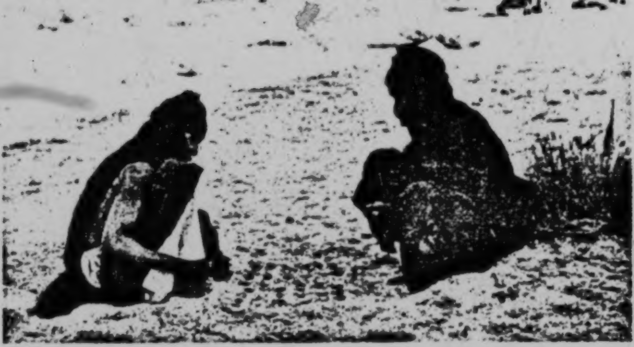

Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *keraḍ*. Ahaggar, the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

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294 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
576 trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law
606 (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arġaġ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

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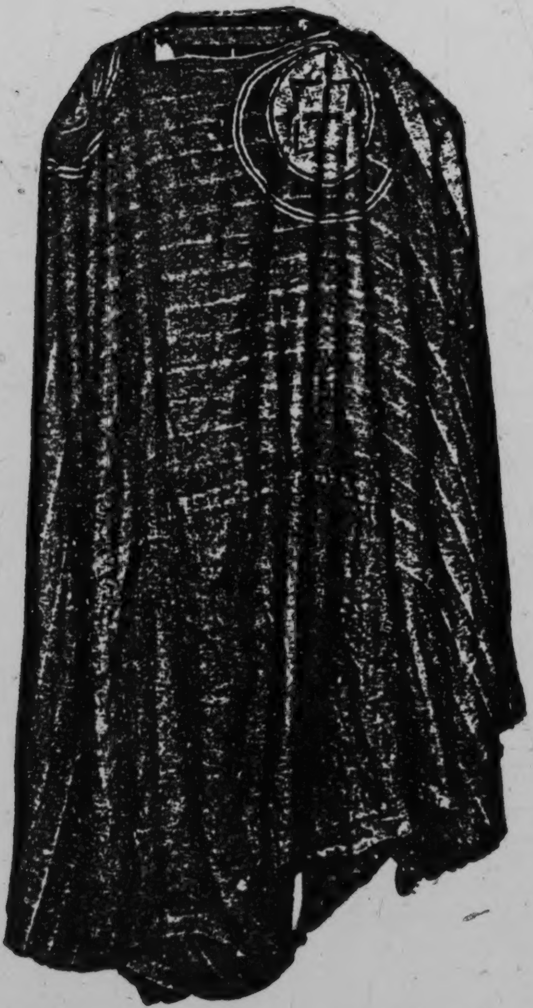

Fig. 235. Tuareg cotton shirt (*tékamist*) of Sudanese indigo cotton. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection.
Dimension: 1.25 m long, 2.53 m wide. (N.M. G. 1.6).

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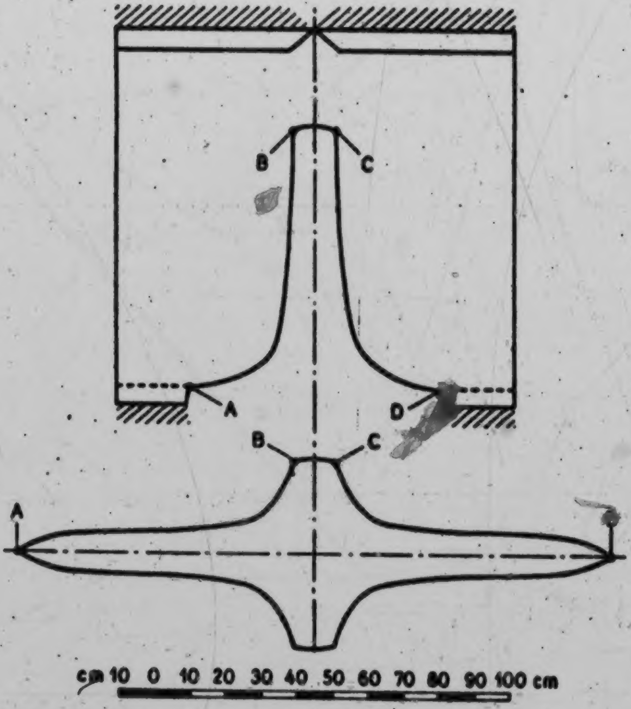

Fig. 236. Cut of Tuareg trousers (*ékerbey*). They are made from two identical pieces of cotton sewn together at the sides and united at the inside with a particular piece of cotton sewn to the legs. The trousers are very wide and are laced around the waist by means of a leather cord called *tamennalt*. Dimension: 1.06 m total length, 1.10 m wide at the waist. (Author's collection).

291 292 Veil, shirt, and trousers constitute the main elements of Tuareg dress. On festive occasions many men also wear a particular type of shoulder belt or bandoleer. This consists of a long strip of coloured cotton (frequently red) wrapped several times around the waist and over the shoulders forming a cross over the chest and over the back. This belt or bandoleer is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tirzemin*, or *iheyderen*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *técherhit*. Rodd ascribes a practical use to this belt, which, he says, the Tuareg wind tightly around their bodies as support for the abdomen on which the motion of the camel imposes great strain during long marches (Rodd 1926a, p. 194). I have myself never seen Tuareg use such belts on long journeys, and have only seen them in use on festive occasions connected with

292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 [172] p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers [648] were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was [565] introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

● 291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:—(1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:—(1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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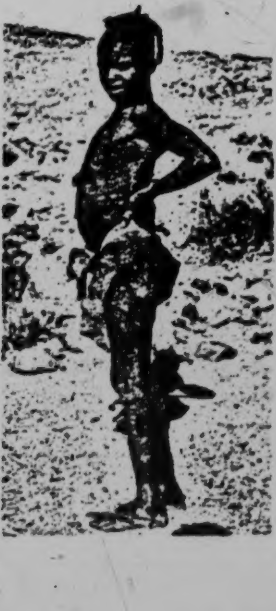

Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

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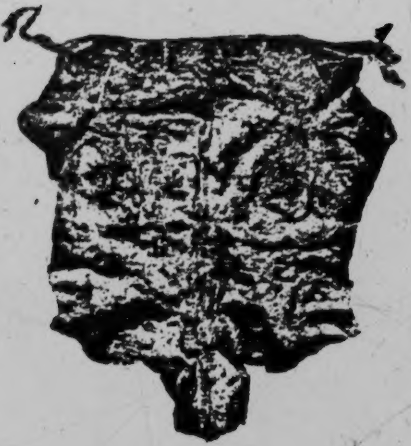

Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *argag* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[114] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [567] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwllemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the southwest. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [567] [565] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *elaraite* according to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr

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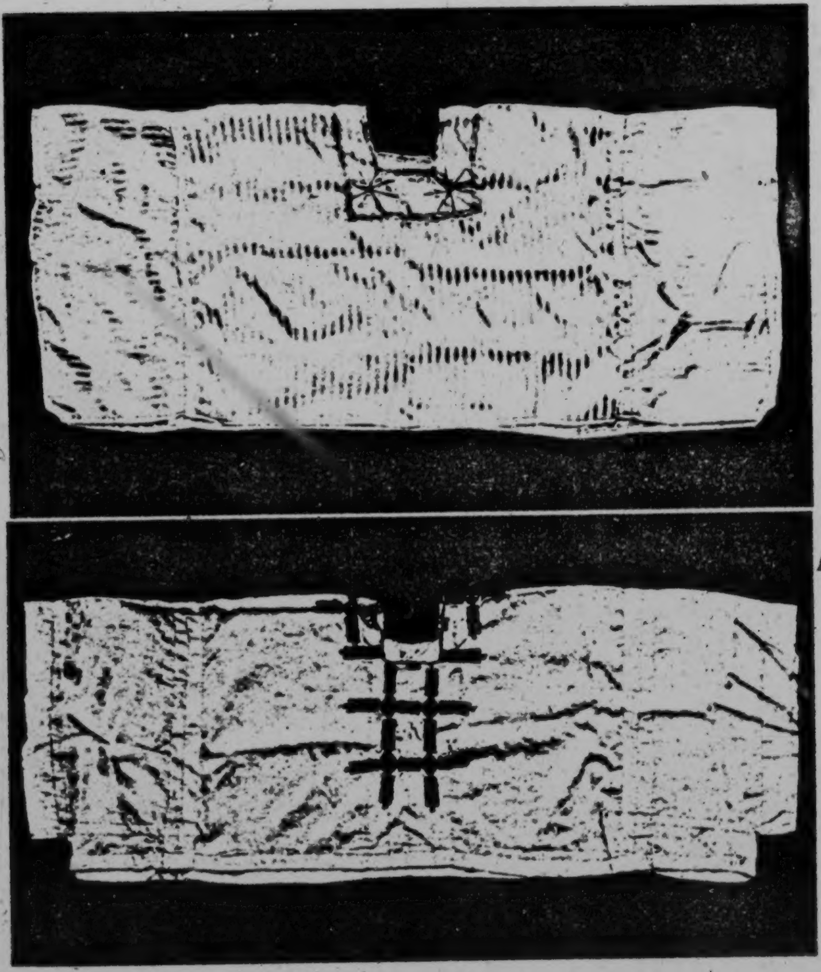

Fig. 239a–b. Two short woman's shirts from Ayr.

a. The shirt (*afiek*) worn by pastoral women. Dimension: 1.27 m. (N.M. G. 6668).

b. Shirt of similar cut but embroidered with red thread. It is called *liga* or *tagua* and is worn by the Hausa-speaking women of Agadez. Dimension: 1.38 m. (N.M. G. 6669).

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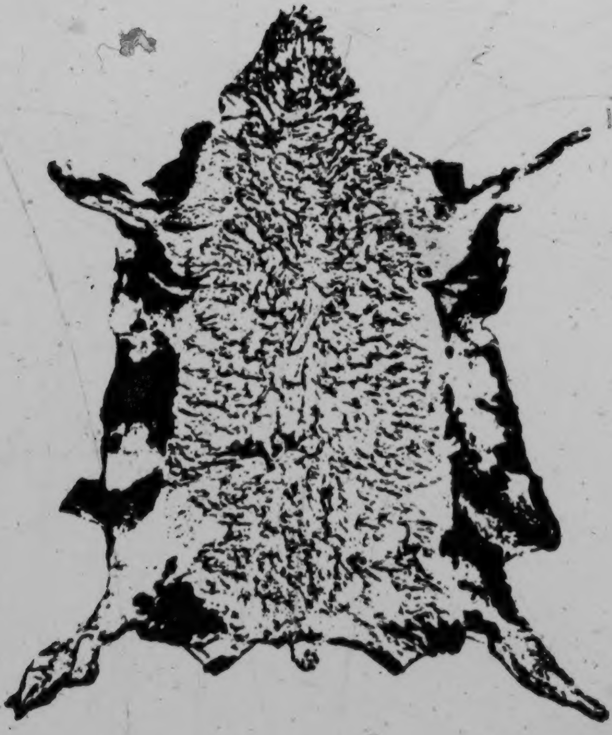

Fig. 240. Sheep-skin (*aǵlim*) to be worn over the back with the hairy side turning inward in cold weather. Dimension at the middle: 1.170 m long. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tahlé* tribe

291 Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr (cf. Musée de l'homme, card-index 41.19.847). The [237] skirts mentioned are made from goat-skin, and this is also the case with two other skirts found in the collection of the Paris museum. These latter skirts differ from those mentioned above in that they

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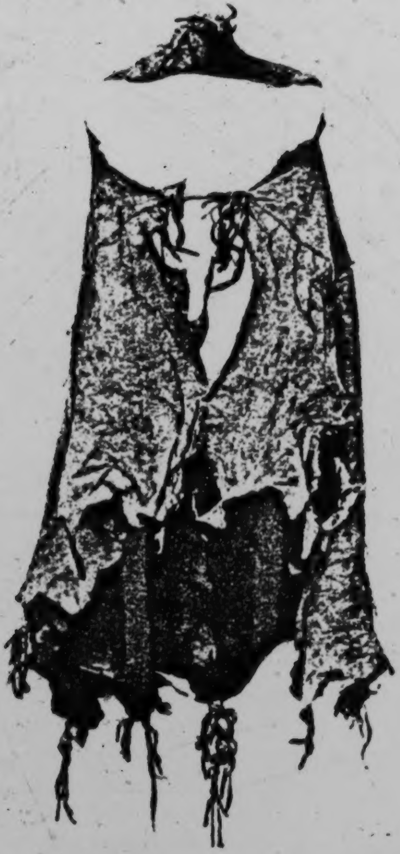

Fig. 241. Skin mantle made from several pieces of hairy goat-skin sewn together with leather thread. It is known as *tiglemin* (sing. *taglimt*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɍali* tribe. Dimension: 0.99 m without the fringes. (F. M. 281).

are somewhat longer, and provided with two shoulder-straps. The skirts were collected by Lhote in 291 1939 in the region of Ansongo at the Niger, and derive from the *Kel es Suk* Tuareg. According to the card-index similar skirts are also worn by *Bélla* women of the *Dawssahak* and *Echcherifen* (Musée de

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather
straps also occurs among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a,
Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the
[237] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen
[177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agri-
culturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aġlim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-
[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed [illegible]
several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little [illegible]
(*tistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather
[184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes
no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like
291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material
for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iṛàtimen* (sing. *ẹṛatim*) which
[237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and
sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals.
It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south.
[438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where
the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in
294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following
281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating
with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5)
Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made
from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed
and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather
strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band
of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig.
[114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-
facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are
291 easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently
dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The
[137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the
burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river
valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and
efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than
other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal
[285] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *slisleplatine*
(Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

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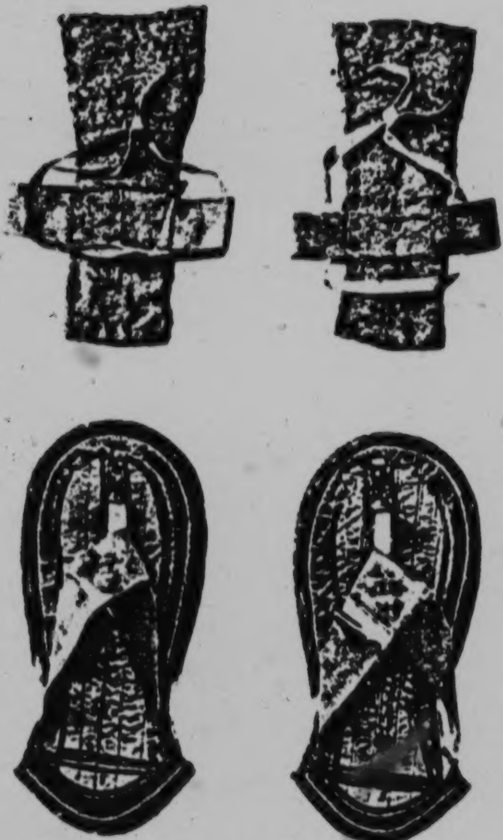

Fig. 242 a-b. Tuareg sandals from Ahaggar

a. Woman's sandals of the *imerkadan* type. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.224-0.227 m long. (N.M. G. 5277a-b).

b. Woman's sandals of the *dyanim* (*tekaint*) type. Ahaggar, manufactured at Agadez. Dimension: 0.279-0.283 long. (N.M. G. 5278a-b).

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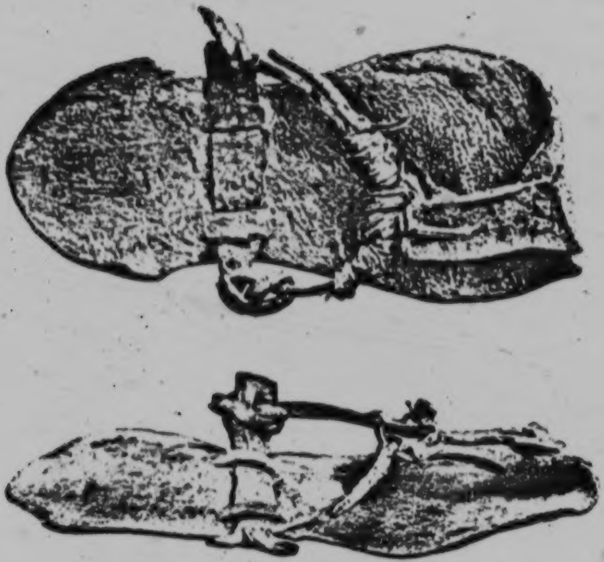

Fig. 243. Sandals resembling the *tagliezez* type but having no heel-straps. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.275–0.285 m long. (N.M. G. 1.8).

have heard being *ẹratim n tagayt*. It is provided with a strap of leaf passing between the first and second toes, and straps of the same material to support the instep. Thus it is kept to the foot in much the same way as the leather *takalmi* sandal, and there is possibly a historical relationship between the two types. Sandals made from plaiting dum palm leaves wear out rapidly but are quickly made. They are worn mainly by children and by very poor people.

[402] An extremely common type of sandal in Ahaggar is that known as *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*). These are never made by professional craftsmen, but are manufactured in Tuareg camps by vassal women [237] who use the large awl (*éndel*) for sewing sandals. They are made of the tanned skin of sheep and 294 goats, or the skin of oxen if this is available. The sandals, almost rectangular in form, are made from several layers of tanned skin sewn together with leather thread. At the back of each sandal two leather loops are inserted in, and sewn to, the leather layers, while a long leather strap is inserted in and sewn 291 to, the fore part. The sandal is kept firmly to the foot by means of the leather strap which passes between the first and second toes, and through the two leather loops to be fastened over the instep (cf. Fig. 242a). This sandal type is in high esteem for walking in the mountainous parts of the Ahaggar Massif, for it is strong, keeps firmly to the foot, and does not easily slide on the rocky surface. It is

It is 291/

never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among [294] the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *tadukat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it [114] is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals [294] of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal [184] type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanraset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at [439] the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *téfedilt* (pl. *tifedilin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for [114] the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the 291/ *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different 182 types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

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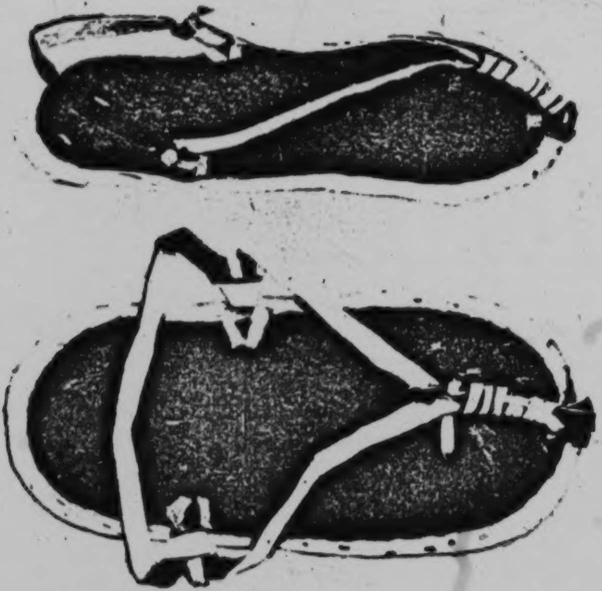

[439] Fig. 244. Sandals known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akeroga*. Bought at Agadez, said to be manufactured at Sokoto in Nigeria. Similar sandals were very common among the *Kel Ataram* Tuareg I saw near Ayoru on the Niger. Dimension: ca. 0.29 m. (N.M. G. 6641).

291 182 tanned skin does not so easily slide upon the rocks. But sandals of this type are used by a great many Tuareg who do not live in proper mountain areas. The distribution of cultural traits can rarely be explained by mere reference to environmental factors.

292 A most interesting type of footwear, known to the Northern Tuareg and to those of Ayr, is a kind of skin-stocking which is worn with sandals in the winter. I have never myself seen it among the Tuareg and though it has been described in literature published prior to my investigations I failed to enquire [114] about its use and manufacture. The fact that I have not seen Tuareg skin-stockings does not prove that they are rarely used, for while I have stayed among the Tuareg throughout five summer seasons I have only been among them for one winter, when I mainly lived in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. Most Tuareg I met that winter went barefooted or wore sandals, and those who wanted an extra protection against the cold wore various types of European footwear and stockings.

*342 Tuareg groups, perhaps in all. They occur in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, but are rare in and around the Ahaggar Massif, though apparently more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg who live in Tamesna. They are also known among the *Kel Adraɣ* (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.), and they constitute the common tent among the *Kel Ḍennek*. On the other hand these tents seem to be rare in and south of the Ayr Massif, where most people have mat tents, and though certain illustrations in literature seem to point to the existence of central T-shaped posts in the tents of the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* nothing seems to have been written about the existence of T-shaped posts there. However, in the ethnographical museum of Neuchâtel there is a short cross-bar of a T-shaped post brought from Tuareg living at Gao (cf. p. 382), and I was told by the chief *Amdeɣ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* tribe that T-shaped posts once existed among them but were not used nowadays.

It is most likely that all T-shaped structures are historically related, and the question is taken up later in this chapter. The sub-types to be described are the following:—

B.2.g.1. This type has no other elements to support the sheet but the T-shaped post. Such tents have been depicted by Olufsen and Moberg from Ahaggar (Olufsen 1924a, p. 132 f.; Moberg 1927, p. 212, 229, 257) from which region it is also mentioned by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 25) and by Foucauld (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have never seen a skin tent thus erected in or around the Ahaggar Massif, and I have only seen a tent of this kind once in a camp of Ahaggar Tuareg close to Ingal in the extreme south. Foucauld mentions this type of tent as a traditional one to the Ahaggar Tuareg, stating that the central post is always very high. It may attain a height of 2.50 metres and it is always possible for adult men to stand upright in the middle of the tent. It is evident that a tent erected in this way must be firmly attached to poles around it, and the twelve poles traditionally belonging to a skin tent in Ahaggar must necessarily be used in tents which are only supported by a T-shaped post under the sheet (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). A tent erected in this way has very much the shape of an umbrella or parasol, and it has the same functions. When it rains the water

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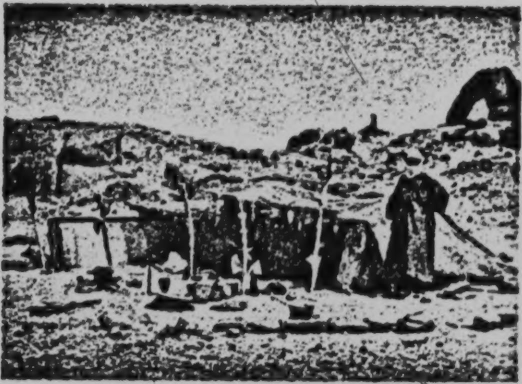

Fig. 279. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe.

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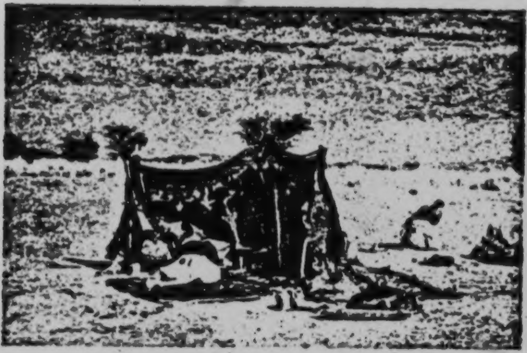

Fig. 284a. The skin sheet erected as a wind-screen for visitors. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

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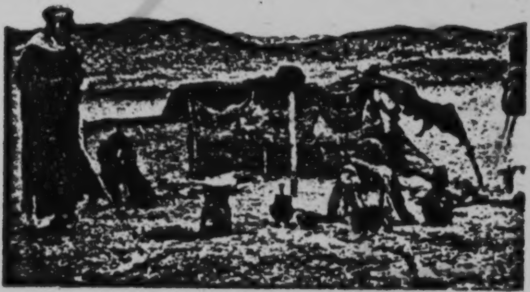

Fig. 284b. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a Tuareg camp. Ahaggar, the *Aĝuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

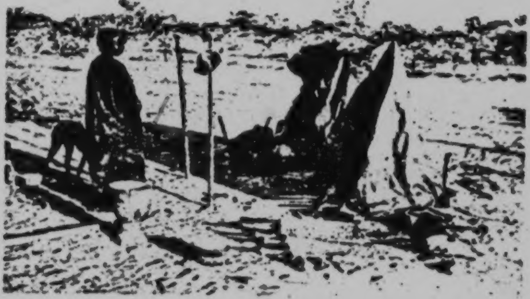

Fig. 284c. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a *Béllo* camp near Ayoru on the Niger.

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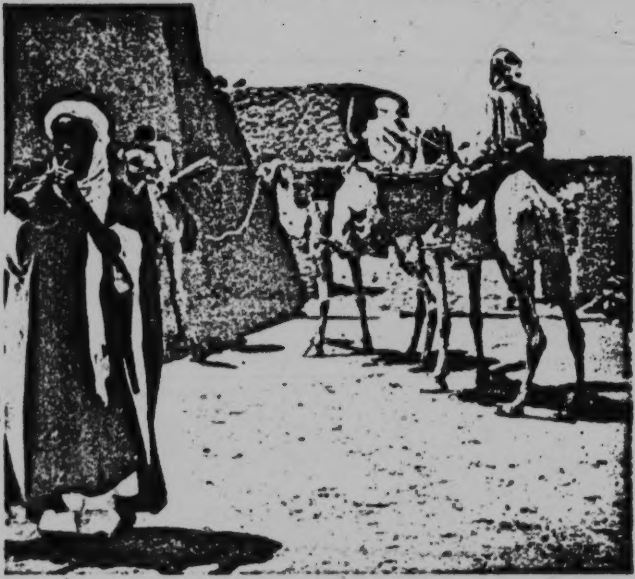

Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[778] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization
like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral
groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest
pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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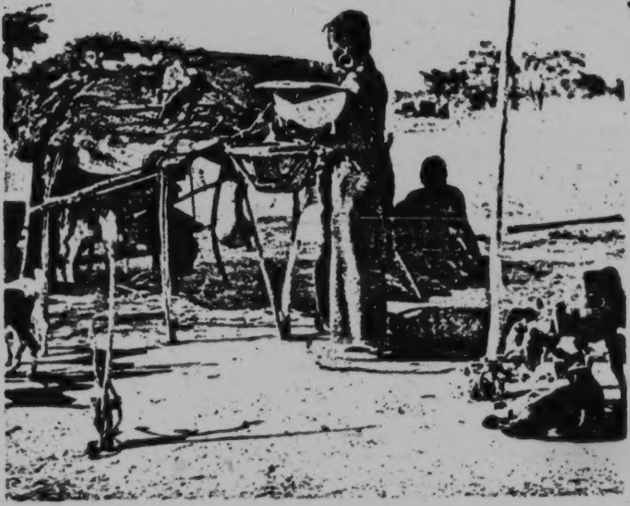

Fig. 291. Sun-shade built by slaves in Ayr on the same principle as the mat tents previously mentioned. The standing slave girl only wears a cotton skirt which sometimes in the south forms the sole dress of women. Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. Throughout the time I have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted two instances of corporal punishment, and both in a very mild form. It is also very normal in vassal camps for slave children and Tuareg children to play together, and a slave owner may treat his slave children in much the same way as his own. 567

There are several reasons why the Tuareg, practically speaking, never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom may here be adduced. For if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters by means of a system which is still in operation to this day. In Ahaggar the way thereby a slave can obtain his freedom from his master and become attached to another Tuareg is as follows: When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover him. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolic action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slaves. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is bound to agree to this. It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, [558] and is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his slave with favour and give him

583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Khejji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291] 15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *ịratimen* (sing. *ẹ́ratem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[212] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towards the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expected to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301] *t'izabatin*, a pair of large ear-rings.
ténélét, a ring-formed pendant.
zakkat, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
tadnet (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
térewt (pl. *téra*) *ta n tejekkot*, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

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Fig. 296. Tuareg women dancing in front of professional musicians of Agadez. Ayr, the *Igradéyaen* tribe.

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state the converse proposition that it underlies the extreme fission process characteristic of Arab lineage structure the one structural function of the institution promoting the segmentation process. From this point of view feud and fission are not at all dysfunctional factors, but are necessary for the continuity and viability of Bedouin society (Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 18). Such theories of marriage with a father's brother's daughter and its functional connection with the political system may contain an important element of truth, though Westermarck was told in Morocco that cousin marriages easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and the wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple. Furthermore, Westermarck observes that this argument against cousin marriage was used by the Arab poet, Mu'allakāt (Westermarck 1914, p. 54 f.).

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All over the Near and Middle East where marriages with a father's brother's daughter constitute the traditional type of mating, it is a rule that a man should have the right to marry his paternal cousin for a reduced price or only pay the wedding expenses. This custom is richly confirmed in the literature from North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. It has also been observed among the Kurds by F. Barth, who thinks that bride-wealth is paid should a man not marry a paternal cousin, as compensation to the bride's father because he does not secure that reinforcement of his minimal lineage which would have been acquired had his daughter married his brother's son (cf. F. Barth 1954,

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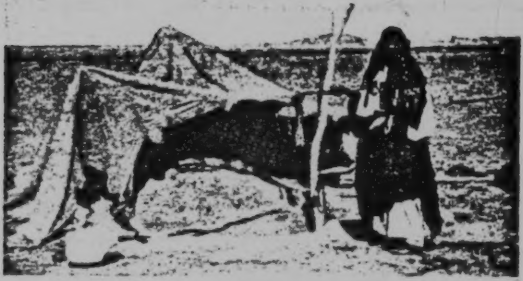
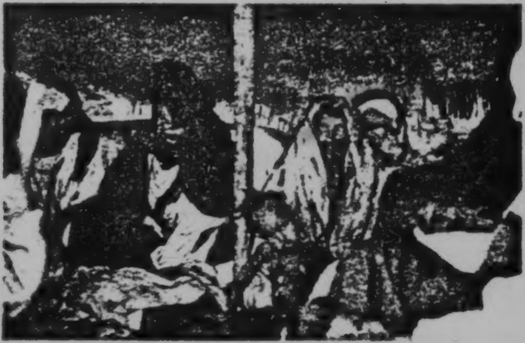
Fig. 297a–c. From a wedding ceremony.

a. A woman in front of the skin tent erected over the ceremonial sandhill (*adebel*) on which the couple to be married sit during the first wedding night.



b. The skin tent is removed from the ceremonial sandhill, which is left untouched.



c. The tent correctly erected with the married couple sitting upon the low sandhill (*tuf-adebel*). The groom sits to the left of the central tent post, the bride to the right. Both groom and bride are veiled. Ahaggar, the *Ikeryawen Hada* tribe.